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CONTENTS.

Section.	Papers.	Pages.
Literary	1—43 ...	1—72
Philosophy	44—60 ...	73—106
History and Archæology	61—92 ...	107—183
Philology	93—98 ...	183—190
Anthropology	99—104a ...	190—199
Hindi Literature	105—109 ...	200—201
Arabic and Persian	110—115 ...	202—206
Urdu	116—121 ...	206—211
Miscellaneous	122—124 ...	212—216
Names of Papers and Summaries received late ...		217—219

(1)

THE ANTIQUITY OF ṚGVEDIC CULTURE AND THE EARLY HOME OF THE ARYANS.

ABINASH CHANDRA DAS, M.A., Ph.D.

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The Ṛgveda is a production of the Punjab. But there are indications in that text of a different environment of the land, *viz.*, Eastern and Western Sea (in Rv. X, 136.5), without any mention of the Midland countries, the Sarasvati reaching the (Rajputana) Sea (VII, 95.2), the Four Samudras (IX, 33, 6 ; X, 47, 2). These seem to point to a time when there was a big Asiatic Mediterranean Sea to the north of Bactria and there was a sea to the south of the Punjab, where we have our Rajputana now. The Ṛgvedic Aryans were very well acquainted with the sea (Rv. I, 25, 7 ; 48, 3 ; 56, 2 ; 116, 4 ; IV, 30, 17 ; 55, 6 ; VI, 20, 12 ; VIII, 88, 3). Rv. I, 46, 2, 8 ; III, 55, 1 ; IV, 43, 5 ; V, 80, 5 ; VII, 55, 7 ; X, 72, 7 ; X, 136, 5 ; X, 155, 3, etc., indicate the presence of the Eastern Sea near the Punjab. The scant mention of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā in the Rv. indicates that they had then a very short course to run. The legend of Agastya's (1) sipping the ocean dry and (2) crossing the Vindhya Range (the Aravalli) by depressing it probably refers to the drying up of the Rajputana Sea by an upheaval of its bed and the simultaneous depression of the Aravalli Range in consequence of a great seismic disturbance. Not only the Sarasvati but also the Satadru flowed into the Sea in Ṛgvedic times (Rv. III, 33, 2). All these seem to point to a date from about 5000 B.C. (or 25000 B.C.) to 8000 B.C. The fact that the Ṛgveda calls the year by the name of *Hima*, shows that the Punjab was then a very cold place. The term *Sárad* in the same sense in that text (VII, 66, 16) shows a gradual change of climate in the later Ṛgvedic

period, due to the advent of the Post-Glacial Epoch (about 8000 B.C.). Change to hot conditions referred to in the Zend-Avesta was probably due to the disappearance of the Rajputana Sea. The Rv. seems to have been written through long ages. Indra's *Vajra* was at first made of stone, then of bone (I, 84, 13, 14). Rv. VII, 83, 1 refers to rib-bones of the horse used as sickles for cutting the *Kuśa* grass. All these point to a Neolithic stage of civilisation. But in the Middle and Later R̥gvedic ages we find the Aryans acquainted with the use of metals. All the stages of culture from the Neolithic to the Metallic thus seem to be represented in the R̥gveda. The Rv. mentions even earlier compositions, *viz.*, Nivits, Nigadas and Gāthās. Rv. X, 71, 4 shows that even in the R̥gvedic period, the language of most of the mantras had become unintelligible and that shows their vast antiquity. References to seismic disturbances in the Rv. (I, 62, 5; 63, 1; II, 12, 2; 15, 6; 17, 5, etc.), which geologists say occurred in the Punjab in the Pleistocene period, also point to this. The Soma is mentioned as most ancient (IX, 2, 10; 86, 10) and so also Indra (IX, 96, 5) and their cults must be very ancient. The Iranians were the only other people knowing the Soma. That there is no mention of Soma and Indra in any of the so-called Aryan languages of Europe, makes a European home of the Aryans impossible. The names of Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Nāsatyas, etc., found in a clay-tablet discovered at Boghaz Keni by Hugh Winkler in 1909, and containing the terms of a treaty between a Mitannian King and an Egyptian Pharaoh about 1500 B.C. in which the abovenamed gods were invoked, go to show that a branch of the R̥gvedic Aryans had emigrated to Mitanni from Sapta-Sindhu long before 1500 B.C. Astronomical evidence also points to an early date. Tilak and Ketkar have proved that some verses of the Rv. go back to the fifth millennium B.C., and D. Mukhopādhyāya shows that Rv. X, 68 and X, 85, 13 were composed between 16000 B.C.

and 15000 B.C. Europe was peopled from 20,00,000 to 50,000 years ago by savage races of men, altogether distinct from the Homo Sapiens, who succeeded them, after whom came about 12000 B.C. a race from "South-Western Asia" (including Sapta-Sindhu and Iran?) with Aryan language and primitive Neolithic culture. It is by the mixture of these various races that the various Aryan-speaking races of Europe were formed.

(2)

INDRA IN THE R̥GVEDA AND THE AVESTA

KSHETREŚA CHANDRA CHATTOPĀDHYĀYA, M.A.

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Various views have been held by scholars about the original nature of the Vedic god Indra. Though opinions have by now converged to one point, all the facts connected with Indra are not adequately explained. The problem seems to be further complicated by the fact that his Avestic counterparts, Verethraghna and Indar, are respectively a Spirit of Light and a Demon. Martin Haug's theory about the religious schism between the Indians and the Iranians, now abandoned by European scholars but still popular in India, does not give us much help.

That Indra is a god of thunder and rain is certainly quite evident. But this function may be quite adventitious. Trita Āptya, an early god whom Indra seems to have ousted, had just the same function. We have to keep in mind Indra's connexion with war. But "god of war" will not be an adequate explanation either. Indra helps fighters, but chiefly Aryan fighters and that against their non-Aryan enemies. This fact ought to be kept in mind. Could he have been simply the national god of the Aryans or of some Aryan tribes? Perhaps. Vṛtra in most passages of the

R̥gveda means certainly the cloud-demon. But in some passages in the family books (*e.g.*, III, 53. 11°), it means simply "enemy," and that is the sense of the first element in Verethraghna. This meaning may therefore go back to Aryan times, the derivation being from *vr̥* "to cover, to envelop, to surround." Transference of the name in later times to "ærial" enemies of mankind is readily understood. Verethraghna of the Avesta would therefore be a very close correspondent of Indra of the pre-R̥gvedic and early R̥gvedic Indo-Aryans.

How then did the Indian Indra come to have an especial connexion with the phenomenon of raining? The process is not difficult of understanding. Everything good, everything beneficial to the community, would be ascribed to the kindness of the national god. Parallels may be adduced from almost every country. Without rains man cannot subsist, and the Aryans formed no exception to this rule. Therefore Indra had to be made responsible for the enlivening drops of water the heavens yield annually after a long drought. Indra would therefore be first a national god, then as a corollary of this fact, a god of war and a god of rain.

We can probably guess at another aspect of Indra. His especial connection with the Soma draught is well-known. The drink chiefly belongs to him. This we find in the R̥gveda, and in the later Soma ritual the prominence of Indra is not substantially altered. Now an early name for Soma is Indu and it is probably from *Indu* that the name *Indra* is derived. This Indu or Soma is endowed in the R̥gveda with a characteristic feat of Indra, the conquest of Vṛtra (as a cloud-demon). That is probably because Indu (=intoxication of the Soma juice) was in some way identical with Indra. We "may have here partially a case of Frazer's sacrificing the god unto himself." The Aryans seemed to have traced their ancestry to Indu or

Soma, as is evidenced by the Purāṇic genealogy of the Candra (?) dynasty and a statement in Megasthenes (*vide* my paper on this subject in the Third Oriental Conference). A certain amount of totemism might be involved here. Such ideas would of course be repugnant to many but such may really be the indication of facts. The Soma ritual, however, seems to have been at first peculiar to the Indian branch of the Aryans and to have entered Iran in a post-Zarathushtrian period. Therefore the identification of Indra with Indu or Soma would not go to the times when the ancestors of the Indians and the Iranians were living together as one people.

Verethraghna in the Avesta is therefore an Aryan survival. But not so Indar. He is found only in the Vendidad, the latest of the Avestan texts, and probably only once. Indar is mentioned as a demon to be driven away, along with Sauru and Nāunghaithya (Vd. X, 9). It is possible that these three names are of deities of the neighbouring Indians. That is probably because the Iranians of Parthian or Sassanian times looked upon the Indians as upon all other neighbouring tribes with eyes of contempt, and the writer of the passage fancifully chose some of their gods as demons. Milton's *Paradise Lost* would naturally come to one's mind in this connexion. It should be kept in mind that hostility to Indra or to things Indian is not found in the earlier texts of the Avesta, and Haug's theory of original schism should not therefore be dragged in to explain Indar's demonhood. We should also keep in mind that Indra's character degraded in India too by Purāṇic times; and the Nāsatyas were then not much worshipped and their names could therefore be misunderstood in Iran. Whom Sauru corresponded to, Śarva or Śaru (= Arrow or Dart of Death?) is not very clear.

(3)
BRĀHMAN—BARESMAN—BRICHT—BHRĀJ.

S. K. BELVALKAR, M.A., Ph.D.
(Poona).

An attempt is made in this paper to briefly indicate the four main views as to the origin of the concept of *brāhman* and the corresponding etymologies of the term. The first view regards the *brāhman* as originally signifying the mood of inward devotion or piety which finds expression in service and prayer. The second regards it as a lifting upwards or an offering unto Heaven of a visible oblation or symbol, or an audible prayer. The third regards *brāhman* as originally denoting a sort of a magic fluid which was believed to pervade all things in the Universe. The fourth and the last view maintains that *brāhman* at first denoted a fire-light substance which fills all things within and without. The criticisms passed on these views are briefly reviewed, and the first is definitely rejected as importing into the conception of *brāhman* certain Christian notions altogether foreign to it. The fourth view claims that the conception of *brāhman* as a fire-light substance is Indo-European and cites several Avestic and Upaniṣadic passages in support. It has not, however, given compelling positive reasons for rejecting the "magic" view, and it fails itself to fully account for the R̥gvedic use of *brāhman* as meaning prayer.

It is suggested that the second view was amalgamated with the third in the Atharvaṇic and the Early-Brāhmaṇic period when probably there took place a fusion of two distinct cultures. A similar contact of varying cultures seems to be in evidence also at the beginning of the Upaniṣadic period. Why not suppose then that the idea of *brāhman* as a fire-light substance belongs to this new culture, and came to be fused with the earlier ritualistico-magical conception? The fusion was most complete; but because these three root-conceptions of *brāhman* ultimately

fused together so as to be almost indistinguishable, there is no reason why we may not assume that they could not have had distinct starting-points.

(4)

MACDONELL AND A R.K. (X. 18-8.)

D. T. TĀTĀCHĀRYA SIROMANI.

The verse is :

Udīrṣva nāryabhi jīvalokaṃ
Gatāsumetamupaśeṣa ehi
Hastagrābhasya didhiṣostavedaṃ
Patyurjanitvamabhi sambabhūtha ॥

Macdonell takes *hastagrābhasya didhiṣoḥ patyuh* to mean a second husband wooing a widow when her first husband is just dead. This is an absurd and heartless interpretation. Sāyaṇa takes the words to mean the deceased husband himself. Jīvalokaṃ is understood by S. "as the world of sons, grandsons, etc.," whereas M. takes it as "the world of life." M.'s rendering of *didhiṣoḥ* by "wooing" is against "*garbhasya nidhātuḥ*" of S. The *devara* is certainly not meant here, for he could not be a second husband but had *niyoga* only till progeny (cf. Manu, IX, 57—63). The *didhiṣūpati* referred to by Manu (III.173) is a *devara* of degraded character. The *devara* is *patisthānīya* and not a *pati*. So M. is wrong. The Smritis, which are all based on the Vedas, direct *brahmacarya* or *anugamana* for a widow (cf. also Mbh., Ādiparva). The Vedas can be rightly interpreted only by a person knowing the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas.

FRAGMENTS OF THE BAIJAVĀPA GRHYA SŪTRA

BHAGAVAD DATTA

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The Caranavyūha of Śaunaka enumerates Baijavāpa as one of the fifteen divisions of the Śukla Yajurveda. A teacher Baijavāpa is mentioned in the Mādhyandina recension of the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad, II, 5, 20 and IV, 5, 26. Baijavāpi, or a descendant of Bijavāpa, is mentioned in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, I, 4, 7. Bijavāpin is also named in a Gaṇa of Pāṇini under Sūtra IV, 2, 80.

Bhaṭṭa Kumārila Svāmī (8th century) is the earliest author who refers in his Tantravārtika, I, 3, 10 to the Kalpa composed by Baijavāpa. Ācārya Piṭṛbhūti is the earliest commentator (of the Kalpa of Kātyāyana) who actually cites a sūtra of the Baijavāpa Śrauta.

The lower limit of the date of Piṭṛbhūti is well-nigh settled. He is quoted by Karka, who in turn is again quoted by Uvaṭa. We know from the colophon of Uvaṭa to his Bhāṣya on the Yajurveda that he flourished in the beginning of the eleventh century. Piṭṛbhūti may, therefore, roughly be placed not later than the end of the ninth century.

In a chart of the 109 recensions of the Yajurveda, which I possess, it is stated that the Baijavāpa School flourished in the Nārāyaṇa Sarovara. Nārāyaṇa Sarovar is the modern Kutch Bhuj. I hope that this important Kalpa may still be found, if a search be made in that State.

Quotations of a Smṛti also ascribed to Baijavāpa are to be found scattered in the various law-digests. But this seems to be a spurious work, like so many other Smṛtis.

The Grhya portion of the Baijavāpa Kalpa is extensively quoted in a good many works. The oldest of these is the Hāralatā. The following is a list of the works from which the fragments have been collected:

1. Hāralatā (11th century).

2. Aparārka (12th century).
3. Smṛticandrikā (12th century).
4. Caturvargacintāmaṇi (13th century).
5. Parāśara Mādhava (14th century).
6. Madana Pārijāta (15th century).
7. Śuddhi Kaumudī (16th century).
8. Śrāddha Kriyā Kaumudī (16th century).
9. Dāna Kriyā Kaumudī (16th century).
10. Śrāddha Kāśikā (16th century).
11. Saṃskāra Kaustubha.
12. Prayoga Pārijāta.
13. Varāha Ṣodaśī (16th century).
14. Vīramitrodaya (16th century).

Next follows the text of the fragments edited from the above sources.

(6)

WAS VYĀSA A CONTEMPORARY OF THE PERSIAN PROPHET ZOROASTER?

V. H. VADER, B.A., L.L.B.

(*Chikodi, Belgaum*).

I. The Dasātīr is one of the sacred scriptures of the Parsees. In the XIII-Book of the Dasātīr Ayat, 65, it is said that one Bāyas (Vyāsa) of Hind (India) went over to the city of Balkh in Irāṇa to meet the great Prophet Zoroaster. They held discussions on many important questions of religion and philosophy.

II. Pandit Rāma Naresha Tripathi of Allahabad in his "Kavitā Kaumudī," Part I, has held the view that Shrimat Vyāsa and Prophet Zoroaster were contemporaries who must have lived in the age of Shri Krishṇa or a little earlier.

III. Views of Dr. Shams-ul-Ulma J. J. Modi about the above tradition regarding Vyāsa, the date of the Prophet and the historical importance that may be attached to the tradition.

IV. Views of Dr. Martin Haug regarding the age of the Prophet and the views of Dr. Bharucha on the same.

V. The recently propounded view of Pandit Rāmadevji, Professor of Sanskrit and Oriental Literature at Gurukul, in his scholarly work on Ancient Indian History named "Bhārat Varṣa kā Itihāsa," p. 51.

VI. Mention of Chaugtra-gach of India in the Dasātir.

VII. An account of the Prophet's narration to Bāyas (Vyāsa) about the heated and controversial discussion between mankind and dumb animals as to the legality or otherwise of the power exercised by men over them.

VIII. Dr. Bharucha's views about the Dasātir regarding the doctrines preached therein.

IX. Next the question about the antecedent history of the several Vyāsas that lived before the time of Shri Krishṇa and his contemporary Dwaipāyana Vyāsa, son of Parāshar Muni as compiled from Vāyu Purāṇa, Ch. XXIII.

X. 27 Vyāsas are said to have lived before Dwaipāyana Vyāsa. They arranged the Vedic literature in every Dwāpar Yuga during the Shweta Vārāha Kalpa which is 33rd in order.

The 27th Vyāsa was Jaratkaru surnamed Jātū-karṇya.

XI. The question next discussed is whether this Vyāsa Jaratkāru is the same as the Sarpa sage Jaratkāru who married a sister of the Sarpa King Vāsuki, of the same name and who was the father of Āstika. The great sage Āstika played a very important role in the Sarpa-Sattra of Raja Janamejaya.

XII. Further, an attempt is made to make out the real significance of the story of the Sarpa-Sattra and to mention some references made to other Sarpa Ṛṣis in the Vedic Literature.

XIII. A short summary of the descendants of the Sarpa and Nāga tribes of ancient times is next attempted.

XIV. The etymological meaning of the term Jaratkāru is next given.

XV. Lastly it is concluded that the Vyāsa who met the Holy Prophet Zoroaster, must have been the 27th Vyāsa Jaratkāru surnamed Jātūkarnya of the Vasiṣṭha Gotra.

(7)

VEDIC TEXTS RELATING TO PLANETARY BODIES

S. V. VENKATESWARA, M.A.

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1. Stellar astronomy in the Vedas. Astronomical texts relating to the sun and the moon, as planets.

2. Vedic speculations regarding the sun, his origin and "family." Significance of numbers 5 and 7 in the texts. (T.Ar., 1, i.)

3. Ancient astronomical ideas of the ancient Babylonians and Egyptians compared with the Vedic, and Dravidian. Examination of the words and attributes with special reference to planetary bodies.

4. "It would be stupid to insist that the Vedic seers had no knowledge of the planets."

5. Vague references to five Adhvaryus and Ukshanas, seven sages and Ādityas. (R.V., I, 105; III, 7; IX, 114). The 33 daughters of Prajāpati and 34 bodies "of like nature." Discussion of the interpretations of scholars.

6. The seven Ādityas, their origin and names.—T.A., I, i. in pairs—T. B.

7. Planetary *aliases* as gathered from the Mantras used in the worship of the Nava-grahas. Devata and Pratyadhi-devata.

8. Comparison of groupings of names in :

R.V., I, 89. 3; II, 27; VII, 85.

T.S., IV, 7; T.B., 1

; T. A., IV,

83 T.U., I, i.

Interpretation.

II, 3.4;

9. Planetary names in the latest Vedic texts.
 10. Planetary names in the Avesta and in post-Vedic literature in their bearing on the Vedic passages cited.
 11. Attributes of planets in later works how far founded on the Vedic.
 12. Conclusion.
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(8)

DETERMINATION OF THE VERNAL EQUINOX IN
THE CONSTELLATIONS PUNARVASU, PUSYA,
AND ASLESA IN ANCIENT TIMES OR FURTHER
RESEARCHES INTO THE ANTIQUITY OF THE
VEDAS.

V. H. VADER, B.A., LL.B.
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In this paper I have followed the same method which is followed by the great Vedic Savant Tilak in his precious book styled "The Origin or the Researches into the Antiquity of the Vedas." In that book Tilak has in my opinion very successfully and convincingly proved that some traditions recorded in the Ṛgveda unmistakably point to a period about 4000 B.C. when the Vernal Equinox was in the Dog star or the Dog (as we have in Ṛgveda) commenced the equinoxial year.

I further take for granted that these conclusions have come to be accepted by all the Vedic scholars of the present times.

In this paper I have endeavoured to make further enquiry and hope to show that there are other traditions in the Ṛgveda which point to a period ranging between 4000 B.C. to 7000 B.C. when the Vernal Equinox was moving in the constellations Yama and Yami (Punarvasu), the Trishira, or the Triṣandhi (Pushya and other neighbouring stars), the Praesepe (Madhu Kaṣa) and the head of the Hydra (Aśleṣā).

Several Vedic texts and myths quoted in support of this conclusion are explained and interpreted in this connection. I have further attempted to explain in this paper how some of these legends are corroborated by the traditions and legends of Irāṇ, Greece and other nations of high antiquity. It is my humble request to the readers that they should not be prejudiced by any extraneous circumstances but should scrutinizingly examine and weigh the whole evidence I have adduced in support of my conclusions before they pass any judgment upon them.

I. Traces of Vernal Equinox in Punarvasu whose presiding Deity is Aditi are shown by :—

1. The interpretation of the myth of the birth of Yama and Yami and the Ashwins and the real import of the story about Saranyū.

2. The statement that Abhijit marked the approach of Viṣuwāna, the central day.

3. The meaning of the statement that Aditi is the mother of Ādityas or the Sun-Gods.

4. Commencement of the ancient sacrificial year which began with the Vernal Equinox in Aditi and Agnyādhāan with Aditi, the presiding deity of the Nakshatra Punarvasu. Aditi blessed with a boon that all sacrifices must commence and end with her.

5. Aditi is styled उभयतः शीर्ष्ण which means in Astronomy that its position was at the point separating Dewayāna and Pitryāna. That Punarvasu was the first among the Nakshatras can be construed from the passage in T.B., I, 1.2, where it is stated that Agni was consecrated on the Punarvasu.

6. About the first night of the year we have a statement saying that Citra Full Moon was at the winter solstice and this means that the Vernal Equinox was near Punarvasu.

II. Regarding the Vernal Equinox in Puṣya whose presiding deity is Br̥haspati we have offered the following evidence :—

- (i) The three-headed demon Triśira is compared to three-headed Azi Dahāk of the Iranian Mythology.

The Avestic legend about Azi Dahāk is compared with the Vedic legends about Trishirā. It is shown that identification of Thraetaona Athwya with Trita Aptya being admitted, no doubt remains as to the identity of Azi Dahāk with Trishirā. This Trishirā was originally called Tiṣya which was subsequently identified with Puṣya. The constellation Puṣya is described as an arrow and consists of three stars. The name Trishirās explains these three stars.

- (ii) The Greek Giant Cacus was also a three-headed monster who carried off the cows of Hercules. He seems to be identical with Trishirā or Azi Dahāk.
- (iii) Indra killed Trishirās and cut off his three heads. Tishtrya seems to be a Persian equivalent or corruption of the Sanskrit term of Trishirās.
- (iv) Br̥haspati is called the father of Gods in R̥gveda, II, 26.3 and in Rig., X, 72.2. From this it follows the constellation Puṣya once separated the Devayāna from Pitryāna.
- (v) Passages which go to show that sacrificial year in ancient times commenced the equinoctial year with the Sun in or near Puṣya or Tiṣya :—
- (a) Rig. IV, 50.1, says that Br. was pleased by the ancient Vedic Seers at the head of the Gods.
- (b) In Rig., I, 18.7, it is stated that the sacrifice did not succeed *once* without Br.

- (c) Br. performed the light winning feat standing on the car of Rta (Zodiacal belt visible in Arctic Regions, *i.e.*, in the house of our ancient forefathers).

Rig., I, 56,5

„ I, 89,9

„ II, 23,3,18

- (d) Br. in releasing the cows seeks the light in darkness; He found the Dawn, light and Agni and dispelled the darkness.

Rig., IV, 50,4

„ X, 68,4 to 9.

- (e) The meaning of the statements “ Br. awakens the Gods with a sacrifice ” in A.V., XIX, 63,1 and from him (Br.) even the Gods obtained their share of the sacrifice. Rig. V., II, 23,2, and 6, 7.

- (f) The legend about the three brothers Ekata, Dwita and Trita ; Trita slew Trishiras, the son of Twasta and released the cows, Rig. V., X, 8,8.

Br. is said to have delivered Trita from a well—Rig., I, 105—17. Trita should be वृत् meaning the set Sun.

- (g) Aditi was called and described उभयतः शीर्ष्णि so Br. is called the offspring of the two worlds, *i.e.*, standing between the Devaloka and Pitrloka.

- (h) In Rig., II, 23,17, Br. is said to stand at ऋतस्य धर्तरि or धातरि ; From Rig., II, 23,1 and Rig., IV, 50—3 we can infer that Br. created, held or controlled ऋत ; that he is the lord of the year and as such he is called गणपति or the Lord of the host of ऋक्त गण.

III. The next point considered is about Madhu Kaṣā or (मधुकषा) glorified in Atharva Veda, Book IX, Hymn No. I.

(1) मधुकषा or मधुचक्र seems to be the name for the constellation known by the name of the Honey Whip or Praesepe. This group of stars popularly called Bee-hive is the region of the कर्कराशि : probably the stars α , δ and ϵ of the Cancer or Cancri.

(2) That the ancient Vedic seers observed the commencement of the equinoctial year near Madhu Kaṣā is proved from the following passages :—

- (a) Mādhū Kaṣā called the mother of the Adityas and the centre of Amrita. (A.V., IX, 1—3, 4.)
- (b) Madhu Cakra is called the ocean's genial seed. (A.V., IX, 1.)
- (c) It is said to have seven kinds of Honey in A.V., IX, 1—22.

IV. Regarding my conclusion that there are traces of the Vernal Equinox once being in the Aśleṣā Nakshatra the following evidence is offered :—

(1) The legend of Amrita Manthan explains how the head of the great constellation Hydra or हृदसर्प was cut off and how it remained in the heavens and the trunk fell below the Arctic horizon.

(2) The first born of the serpents known as Ahibhānavah were in ancient times the first among the Dewas.

(3) The driving of a great snake from its own place seems to refer to the precession of the equinoxes a few degrees in the Aśleṣā Nakshatra (S.B., XI, 5, 5-6).

(4) Arbudi and Nyarbudi defined in A.V., XI, 9, seem to be the names of some stars in the head of the Hydra. I cannot for the present say which stars exactly they represented.

(5) Indra pierced the head of Vṛtra (Hydra) and released the cows. (Rig., I, 52-10 and VIII, 65, 2 and VIII, 6, 6.)

V. - In the body of the paper a few other surmises are mentioned about the Vernal Equinox being observed in other constellations :—

- (i) **आपः** and **अपांनपात्** are according to Pandit Bhagawāndas of Dehra Dun, the names of ϵ and ϕ virgo respectively.

There are Vedic texts to show that the Vernal Equinox occurred in ancient times near these stars. (Rig., II, 35-6.)

- (ii) **त्वष्टा** is the presiding deity of the **चित्रा** Nakshatra. Twaṣṭa is called the universal father (in V.S. 29, 9), and there are some myths to show that sacrificial year once commenced near Citra.

- (iii) **Indrāgni** are the presiding deities of **Vishākhā**.

In Rig., VI, 59, 1, the **Indrāgni** are called upon to destroy the **Pitars**, who were the enemies of the Gods.

This means that **Pitṛyāna** ended (Tilak—"Vedic Chronology"); we find clearer authoritative texts to show that once the Vernal Equinox occurred near **Vishākhā**, *e.g.*,

A.V., VIII, 14, 7

R.V., I, 21, 1, 5

R.V., III, 12, 6.

The term **Vishākhā** is a new epithet given to the old name of the constellation "Radha."

VI. It is also mentioned casually in this paper that we find faint traces of the Vernal Equinox being in **पूर्वा भाद्रपदा** and **उत्तराभाद्रपदा** or λ and ϕ Pegasi from myths like the birth of the celestial Horse from the ocean. (R.V., I, 162 and 163.)

The presiding deities of the two stars are **Aja Ekapād** and **Ahimbudhnya**.

(9)
FASHION IN LITERARY TASTE

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

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Yale University, America*).

The writer, especially since his arrival in India, has been struck by the fact that most Indians have a rather disdainful attitude towards the Panchatantra, which all the rest of the world is agreed in considering one of the greatest masterpieces of Indian literature.

Why is this ? Partly, I think, because the Panchatantra is most familiarly known only in very secondary and late versions, which are decidedly inferior in literary quality to the older versions and *a fortiori* to the original, which the writer has reconstructed.

But another, and probably more important, reason for the Hindu contempt for the Panchatantra, is found in a difference in taste. Generally speaking, Hindus of the present day tend to admire the ideal of the Kāvya ; while Westerners tend to prefer simplicity of style. There are, of course, exceptions on both sides, but broadly speaking this is the case.

It has not always been so, in either India or the West. Fashions change, in literary taste as in other things. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, English literary taste resembled the Kāvya ideal much more than the present taste. In India, too, it seems then we can discern several swings of the pendulum back and forth.

Thus, in the great mass of the epic, we find a seemingly (superficially) very simple style exemplified best in such Upākhyānas as Nala and Sāvitrī. Let it not be said that this simplicity is merely a mark of popular literature ; for it is not that in any true sense. It can be shown that the composers of such Upākhyānas, in the form in which we have them, were very careful artists, only their art is of the sort which conceals art.

This fashion was gradually supplanted by the Kāvya with its elaboration and ingenious artificiality, in which a simple statement of the plain meaning was scorned. (One of the strongest arguments, by the way, in my opinion, for the early date of the plays attributed to Bhāsa is their relative simplicity ; the Kāvya style can hardly have developed fully when they were composed.)

The later Kāvya was carried to such grotesque extremes that it became decadent, and a reaction set in, typified by such a writer as Somadeva, who returns to the apparently simple style which yet reveals perhaps as much real artistry as the Kāvya, if one is willing to look for it.

I am not competent to say how many times the pendulum may have swung back and forth since Somadeva's time. But at present it seems to be at the other extreme. And so most Hindus scorn the Panchatantra, composed before the rise of Kāvya, as well as Somadeva, who wrote in a time of reaction against it.

I venture to suggest that the people of India might profitably take a less disdainful attitude towards these works of their own, which outsiders are almost unanimous in considering great masterpieces. A taste for the Kāvya style should not make one blind to the merits of the opposite style. In particular, I wish to emphasize that one can find a great deal of very subtle artistry underneath the seemingly simple surface of works like the Panchatantra and the Kathāsaritsāgara, as well as the epic Upākhyānas. Because it is easy to read them one should not assume that they are written without art. It is an old Roman saying that " the height of art is to conceal art." The Kāvya does not conceal its art ; it parades it proudly. It flaunts it and emphasizes it ; it is obviously more interested in manner than in *matter*, in style than in substance. I have no quarrel with those who prefer this style provided they do not ignore the less obvious but quite as subtle and careful artistry found

in all really great writers of the "simple" school. And Hindus ought the less to ignore this school for the reason that precisely in that line they have produced some recognized masterpieces of the world's literature—recognized, that is, everywhere but in India!

(10)

ASPECTS OF ARYAN CIVILIZATION AS DEPICTED IN THE RĀMĀYANA

C. N. ZUTSHI, M.R.A.S.

There is not a single phase of human life which is not to be found reflected, and not a single corresponding theory which is not to be found anticipated in the Rāmāyana. It is an authentic record of the various aspects of Aryan Civilization—the ethical, the theological, the political and the economic—evolved at the early period of history.

I. THE ETHICAL ASPECT

1. The ethical teachings contained in the Rāmāyana entitled the book to be called the ethical code of the Hindus.

2. The character of Sita, the paragon of domestic virtues, as painted in the Rāmāyana, typifies the duties and obligations of married women in the household.

3. The most primary duty of women is to preserve their chastity under all circumstances by warding off the evil influences brought to bear upon them by evil-minded persons.

4. The character of Rāma as painted by the poet shows how husbands should be devoted to their loving and faithful wives.

5. The depth of love that existed between Rāma and Sita contains a moral lesson for married people of to-day.

6. The lives of Lakshman and Bharata show what reverence and respect younger brothers must have for their elder brother.

7. Younger brothers should derive satisfaction from the service rendered to their elder brother.

8. Rāma's response to services rendered and respect borne by his younger brothers shows the mutual obligations and duties of brothers towards one another.

9. A younger brother should always be well-behaved towards his elder brother's wife.

10. Women should never look into the face of male members whether their husbands' companion or strangers with whom they have to talk unavoidably.

11. A younger brother's wife, sister, daughter, and son's wife should be considered as equal; none of these should be viewed with an evil eye.

12. A son must always obey the commands of his father.

13. A son must even obey the commands of his step-mother.

14. To keep one's word is the criteria of sound morals.

II. THE THEOLOGICAL ASPECT

While the poems of Kabir fully reflect the Protestant school of Hindu religious thought the Rāmāyana has the merit of being the greatest expression of the more orthodox Vaishnavism.

Nature of the Supreme God

1. God is Loving and Personal, All-pervading, Imminent in the world and in the human soul, yet transcending them all.

2. The Supreme is both "Nirguna" and "Saguna," is with and without attributes, indescribable, without beginning and end.

3. The Uncreated and All-pervading Brahma who is free from darkness and division, passionless, changeless, can take a body and become man.

The Hindu Triad

1. Brahma, the creator, Vishnu, the preserver, and Shiva, the destroyer, form the Hindu Triad.
2. The poet's attempt mainly lay in the direction of identifying the Triad with the Supreme Rāma who is said to be supreme in the Triad.

Rāma

1. Rāma is the Supreme Vishnu.
2. Rāma is eminently forgiving.
3. Rāma's name gave the highest glory to Ganesh, and purified Vālmiki from his sin of killing.
4. Rāma's name possesses a cleansing power.

Incarnation

1. The theory of incarnation is believable.
2. Rāma is the incarnation of the undivided essence of the Supreme.
3. The poet uses "Nirguna" for the pre-incarnate deity and "Saguna" for the incarnation of Rāma.

Other Gods and Idolatry

1. The poet assigns an unimportant and subordinate position to several gods of the Hindu mythology who surround God the Supreme but cannot compete with Him and to whom faults and failings are attributable.
2. Idolatry was in vogue at that early time; Sita's invocations to Bhavani and Rāma's worship of Shiva are the instances in point.

Fate

Fate is the expression of the will of Brahma or of Rāma, inexorable and inevitable.

Maya

1. "Maya" is the illusory nature of the visible world.
2. "Maya" is the inscrutable ways of God.

3. "Maya" is the illusive evolution of Bhraman.
4. "Maya" is the incompetence of man to know God.
5. Rāma is the Prime-ruler of "Maya."

Sin and Penance

1. There is nothing characteristic about the poet's conception of sin. In fact he does not go beyond the ordinary Hindu conception.

2. The punishment for sin is entanglement in numberless deaths and re-births; the redeeming feature lies in ascetic and devout practices in penance and devotion for the Supreme.

Bhakti and Salvation

1. Bhakti is the immovable faith including devotion towards the Supreme adorable.

2. Bhakti has given a distinctive character to the essential feature of medieval Vaishnavism in its conception of a Loving and Personal God.

3. Bhakti helps man to rise above his sorrows, and breathes in his soul a profound rest and joy.

4. Bhakti is the foundation of all knowledge which is the secret of all mysticism.

5. Bhakti is a means of salvation.

6. Bhakti is the source of all spiritual powers, and the means to know God and be one with Him.

III. THE POLITICAL ASPECT

1. The ancient Hindus clearly perceived the importance of law and order; a state of anarchy was utterly distasteful to them.

2. Though kings were regarded as gods upon earth, but they could not violate law; law was as much binding upon them as it was upon the subject.

3. Though in those days general form of government was monarchical, yet the power of the rulers was not allowed to grow arbitrary.

4. There were many checks from within and without upon the ruler's powers.

5. The people were not cipher in the administration; they could withdraw their support from an unrighteous king and even depose him if he proved to be deceitful, etc.

6. Rulers could not do anything of their own sweet will; momentous decisions were referred to a conference of Ministers and peoples.

7. The doctrine of divine kingship had no recognition in ancient India, the monarchy in the epic period continued to be elective.

8. The church had great power in the state. Even the election of kings was dependent upon consultation with the religious preceptors.

9. Though election was confined to the members of the royal family, and ordinarily the succession was confirmed in favour of the eldest son, it was not however so ordained as the laws of the Medes and Persians.

10. The sense of justice in Hindu kings was very great; even-handed justice to all was their motto.

11. That governments exist for the people, and not the people for governments, was keenly realised by the ancient Hindus.

IV. THE ECONOMIC ASPECT AND OTHER ACHIEVEMENTS

1. Judging by the daily wages of the labourer earned in these days and considering the exchange value of a rupee which was very much higher in those days than it is at present, the economic condition of the people in ancient India was much better than that of to-day.

2. The wealth of the kings was beyond calculation.

3. There were all sorts of artizans carrying their trade in ancient India—the goldsmiths, the architects; silk-weaving, cotton-weaving, preparation of woollen articles, leather-tanning, etc., were also known to the early Aryans.

4. Agriculture was their main pursuit; even the kings were given agricultural training.

5. On occasions of royal ceremonies people decorated their houses.

6. Coronation ceremony was also performed in those ancient times on an equally grand scale as at present.

7. Engineering and irrigation were also known to the ancient Aryans; they were skilled in sinking wells, laying roads and digging channels.

8. Of far more importance is the fact that the ancient Aryans were the fore-runners in the domain of aeronautical science; flying machines did then exist and played an equally important part during wars in ancient India as the aeroplanes and zeppelins do at present. Flying machines were in existence at least about 5000 B.C. when the Rāmāyana was compiled.

9. Spy system too was in existence in ancient India.

10. The rules of war in ancient India can favourably compare with those of modern times. That wars should be preceded by a declaration, more or less formal, or an ultimatum, and that the person of the messenger should be held as sacred were recognised by the ancient Aryans. It follows that statecraft in its international aspect was by no means a neglected science in ancient India.

CONCLUSION

Judging from this record of India's past it can be safely affirmed that there is hardly anything which the West can boast of, but was discovered and may be found to be anticipated in this country thousands of years ago. There was certainly something inheritingly great in the Aryan civiliza-

tion of ancient India, which, in spite of the fact that other countries, Egypt, Assyria or Babylon with their hoary civilization, have all gone to dust, is still keeping India growing and throbbing, and making her still a living force in the world, in spite of many cyclones that have swept over the land.

(11)

BHAGAVĀN SRĪ-KṚṢṆA IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA
AND MORE ESPECIALLY IN THE
BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

V. G. PARANJPE

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Various theories have been offered to explain the enormous size and the heterogeneous contents of the Mahābhārata. Not less divergent are the views entertained about the Bhagavadgītā, which is a veritable epitome of the epic and raises essentially the same problems. It will be a distinct contribution to Mahābhārata criticism if it could be determined on the basis of available evidence and on purely objective grounds, if Kṛṣṇa figured in the nucleus of the Mahābhārata and if he was from the beginning an "all-God." The answer to these two questions would solve not a few of the many problems that confront students of the Mahābhārata.

On a critical examination of the Bhagavadgītā the present writer could not resist the following conclusions :—

- (i) Chapters 1—6, * 14, 16—18, with the exception of a few stray verses† which break the

* Ch. VIII and XIII ought to be added to the list, but they are so disjointed as they stand that some of the following remarks will not apply to them.

† II, 61; III, 22—24, 30—32; IV, 1—15, 35; V, 29; VI, 14, 15, 30, 47; XIII, 2, 3, 4, 26, 27; XVI, 18—20; XVIII, 54—58, 64—71.

continuity of the different topics discussed, are of a homogeneous character; and so are chapters 7, 9—12, 15.

- (ii) These verses which break the unity of the first group of chapters are essentially of the same tenor as the chapters of the second group. Whereas in these verses the personal pronoun stands in the sense of the "all-God," there is along with the reference in the first person a reference in the third person* to the Highest Being as परं पूरं ब्रह्मा मनुः विमुः or ईश्वर.² In the first place† where the "I" occurs, there is no indication given that the "I" refers to the "all-God." There are references§ made by Kṛṣṇa to himself before where he ostensibly speaks of himself only as a man, as the most religious teacher. In these stray verses the doctrine of Bhakti is introduced into a topic where the mention of Bhakti is absolutely out of place. The highest salvation according to the other doctrines is rendered by these passages into a preliminary step|| and in some places¶ the very word ब्रह्म is made to yield a secondary meaning in order that it may occupy a secondary place. Further the Sāṃkhya elements of the first group is different from those of the second group.

- (iii) Great minds think relevantly, and Indian minds need not be an exception to the general rule.

* Notably II, 59, 72 and 61.

² XVIII, 61 and 65, and V, 20 and 29; VIII, 16, 21 and 22.

† II, 61.

§ II, 12; III, 3.

|| Cf. V, 24 and XVIII, 53 with XVIII, 54-5.

¶ XIV, 3 and 4 and VIII, 13.

If there is a repeated irrelevancy, pointing in a single direction, in the writings of a man which are otherwise characterised by the greatest intellectuality, the irrelevancy becomes tendentious. It only shows that the cult of Kṛṣṇa as the all-God was intended to be grafted on an earlier text. The introduction of verses of a different tenor, do much to prepare the way for a new doctrine and this is the way how older laws and customs have been repeated in the Manusmṛti.

(iv) The assumption of a revised and enlarged text with Kṛṣṇa as the chief speaker must proceed on the assumption of Kṛṣṇa as an essential figure in the old Kuru-Pāṇḍava story. (The late Lok. Tilak has already shown how the Bhagavadgītā has been specifically quoted and its thoughts echoed in several passages of the Mahābhārata, thus showing that the Bhagavadgītā was an essential feature of the developed epic.) Before entering on the discussion of the motive actuating the revision, the following facts must be borne in mind:

- (i) Whoever wrote the second group of chapters was as good a poet, and had as good a philosophy or religion to teach as the author group 1. Indeed, group 2 may be regarded in certain respects as containing even sublimer passages than group 1; and his religion is more comprehensive and has a larger appeal.
- (ii) Ordinarily, liberties on a large scale could not be taken with an early text by a man unless he enjoyed a high reputation and had a very good justification, as well as

opportunity. It would appear therefore, that there was a strong theistic movement on foot in the pre-Bhagavadgītā period, of which the reviser of the Bhagavadgītā was a powerful exponent. To a man of deep religious feeling, the old philosophy of the Sāṅkhyayoga and the ideal of self-denying activity probably appeared to require the vivifying touch of Bhakti and Divine Grace. The nature of Kṛṣṇa also had probably changed in popular opinion and the transition from Kṛṣṇa the teacher to Kṛṣṇa the all-God declaring his wishes and promising his grace was only natural.

From the Bhagavadgītā it would become necessary to turn to other portions of the Mahābhārata to see if there are indications of a similar change there in the role of Kṛṣṇa. In the appendix will be found a complete list of passages referring to Kṛṣṇa in the Mahābhārata (based on Sorensen's excellent Index) grouped in such a manner as to show in what capacity as an epic-hero, or all-God, or as a god he is referred to; and another list of the sections of the Mahābhārata in which Kṛṣṇa plays a part, this also affording the necessary indications by a similar grouping.

It would appear from these indications that Kṛṣṇa retains in several places his character as an epic-hero, doing great as well as low deeds, entirely of a human character, that there are also reminiscences of Kṛṣṇa being an incarnation of the sage Nārāyaṇa as Arjuna was of Nara; that although there is distinct tendency in the Mahābhārata to call him Bhagavān, his simple name Kṛṣṇa is preserved in the majority of calls; and that references to him as all-God occur in so many places scattered all over the Mahābhārata that we have either to suppose there to have been a systematic revision of the Mahābhārata for this purpose alone or to

assume the divine character to have been implicitly conceded to him in the developed epic. It would also appear that certain Kṛṣṇa legends, having no other *raison d'être* but to glorify Kṛṣṇa the all-God by attributing to him super-human powers and miracles, might have been new elements later than the Mahābhārata, so are probably also the attempts made to take away from Kṛṣṇa this character of an all-God and give it to another of whom he is represented only as an emanation.

It is noteworthy that whereas Kṛṣṇa appears in the Kuru-Pāṇḍava legend as an advisor of the Pāṇḍavas who recommends very often tricky ways, the Mahābhārata emphasizes Dharma as the rule of life, and Kṛṣṇa himself is made to appear as inseparably associated with Dharma. This would corroborate the conclusions about the motive that led to the revision of the old text of वासुदेवार्जुनसंवाद and suggest another. The Mahābhārata was intended to glorify Kṛṣṇa as the central figure of a new philosophy and a new ethics, which, preserving as it did all the features of the old-world philosophy and religion, amounted to a higher philosophical synthesis and a more practical religion, which met the needs of the lowly and ignorant as well as the high-born and the cultured.

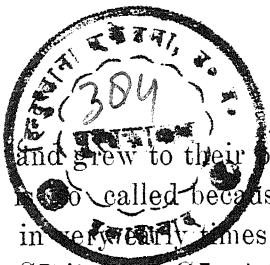
(12)

EPIC TRADITIONS OF THE ORIGIN OF VEDIC CULTURE IN EASTERN INDIA

HARAN CHANDRA CHAKLADAR

(Kalighat, Calcutta).

Mahābhārata (Udyogaparva) makes several definite statements about the origin of Vedic Culture in the country to the east of Prayāga. First, it says that the gods were born



and grew to their power in the East and that the *Pârva-dik* was so called because the gods spread over the eastern region in very early times. Next, it states that the Vedas and the *Sāvitṛī* or *Gāyatrī* were first revealed in Eastern India. Besides, it speaks of the extensive propagation of the *Pranava* in the East; this last statement is explained by Nīlakaṇṭha to mean the division of the Vedas into numerous schools (*sākhās*). It also points out the intimate connection of the East with the myths surrounding the four gods that stand highest in the Vedic Pantheon. Drinking of Soma at sacrifices is said to have originated in the East. The Sun-god is said to have revealed the *Yajus* in this region and Indra sacrificed many animals here. It says also that the Vedic sage Vasishṭha belongs to Eastern India. Every one of these statements is supported by statements in other parts of the great Epic and also in Vedic Literature including the R̥gveda in some cases. Thus, the Gods dwelt on Earth (*Kaus. Br.*, I, i.); they lived in the East (*TS.*, vi, 1.1.1; *KS.*, xxvi., 1; *ŚP.*, Br., III, 1, 2 and III, 1, 6-7; *Baud. Pitrims*, etc., etc.). *Rv.*, vii.33, *Bṛihad Devatā*, V, *Tait. Sam.*, 3, 5, 2, 1, *KS.*, 38, 17, *Śatap. Br.*, xii, 6, 1, show that Vasishṭha revealed Indra, the god of the East, to the other R̥shis and men. Buddhist and Jaina works show Eastern India governed by Vāsishṭha ruling families. Viswāmitra, the revealer of Gāyatrī, attained Maharshi-hood and Brahmarshi-hood in the East (*Rām*, i. Chh. 21—34 and Ch. 65); the Gāyatrī was revealed to him near Gayā (*Mbt.*, III, 84); in *Rv.*, III, 53, he expresses his jealousy of the *Kīkatas* whose country is identified with Magadha. Another ancient R̥gvedic seer, Dīrghatamas, married and settled in Aṅga (*Rv.*, I, 158; *Br. D.*, Ch. iv; *Kāt. Sarvānukramanī*; *Vedārthadīpikā*). The Mahābhārata says that from Dīrghatamas sprang five royal families that split up the Aṅga empire into five monarchies (*Mbt.*, I, 104; *I āyṇ*, P., 99; *Matsya*, P., 48; *Brahmāṇḍa*, P., III, 54). This shows that Aṅga covered a large part of Eastern India.

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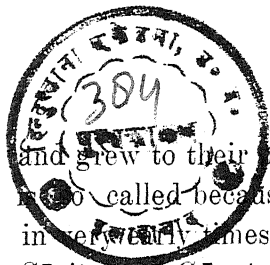
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Lists of Eastern sages in the Mahābhārata include many Rgvedic seers (*Mbt.*, XIII). There are traditions of political relations between the East and the West in early times (*Mbt.*, I, 63, Kumb. Edn.). Prāchiṇvat, a Puru king, conquered up to the farthest eastern limits (*Vishṇu P.*, IV, 19, *Vāyu*, 99, etc.). Prāchiṇvat was many generations earlier than Bharata, a contemporary of Dīrghatamas (*Mbt.*, Ch. I, 63, 88 and 89, Kumb. Edn.; *Ait. Br.*, VIII, 23, etc.). Bharata belongs to Eastern India according to *Mahābhāshya*.

This shows that at least some elements of Indo-Aryan culture originated in Eastern India.

(13)

SOME LIGHTS ON ANCIENT WORLD HISTORY FROM THE PURANS

JWALA PRASAD SINGHAL, M.A.

(*Dehra Dun*).

Purans throw very interesting light on such problems of ancient world history, as who were the Sumerians, why was there a Perso-Indian conflict, what was the original home of Aryans, who were Mayas and Rakshas. The landmark of Puranic history is the Great Deluge. Modern Geological research tells us that about 50,000 years ago there were seas in the Gangetic plain and Rajputana. In Vedas also indications of such seas are found. The conditions changed and the Gangetic plain came out and developed. In the Purans there is an account of flood in which the Aryan King left the country, and on return founded a new city of Ayodhya. The situation of this city is in the northern portion of the Gangetic plain. This corresponds with what could be concluded from geological evidence and finds an authentic point in Puranic history.

Before this deluge the Purans speak of the Devas, the Daityas, the Nagas—all sons of Kashyapa, and the Aryans

or Manushyas, the progeny of Manu. The Daityas lived around Caspian Sea where their king Hiranya-Kashyapa founded the ancient Hyracannia Kingdom. The Devas were the Chinese, and Tibet was the Baikunth, the seat of Vishnu. Rishi Narad wandering through the Himalayas penetrated to China and brought Aryans and Devas into contact. Then when Hiranya-Kashyapa conquered the Devas, the Aryan King Nar Singh helped them, and killed Hiranya-Kashyapa in Hyracannia itself. This established Daityo-Aryan contact. A deity of the name of "Ninharsag" which resembles very nearly Nar Singh has been recently discovered in the Ur Inscription. In Prahlad's time Aryan civilization spread in the Daitya country and evolved the world-wide Heliolithic culture.

When King Bali ascended the Daitya throne there was a maritime expedition organised jointly by the Daityas, the Devas and the Nagas, but the gains from this expedition were unjustly appropriated by the Devas to the exclusion of the Daityas. There was a fight for this, the famous Deva-asur Sangram. In this battle the Daitya King, Bali, was defeated and his forces dispersed. Of his chiefs Sumali, Mali, Malyavan and Maya, Mali was killed, Maya escaped to Patala, and Sumali and Malyavan fled to Ceylon and thence to Patala. Thus the Heliolithic culture reached America and the countries of that side.

But King Bali did not rest. He reorganized and at last defeated the Devas and took their country, then at the request of Devas an Aryan Pandit Baman Deva went to mediate, and got a pledge from King Bali by which he renounced his domains in favour of Baman. Baman exiled Bali and sent him to Naglok. This unjust treatment of Bali set the Persian Aryans against their Indian brothers. But Baman Deva gave Brahmagyan to Bali, and the Kingdom to his descendants. This Brahmagyan made Bali a Devarishi or Rishi amongst gods. He formed the god common

to all Heliolithic peoples under the names of Bel, Baal, Ball.

Then came the great deluge, and when in this the great southern continent was submerged, the descendants of Sumali returned to Lanka or Ceylon under the great King Rawan. They conquered the Yakshas of Lanka and founded a new people Rakshasas or those Yakshas who worshipped the Sun-god Ra. The Ramayan shows that these Rakshasas penetrated into India, and though found in various places but spread mainly up the east and west coast to Central India and Sind Baluchistan. This is the line of Dravidians. The main Dravidian language Tamil is concentrated mostly in these regions. These Sumali Rakshasas going further west became the Summelians or Summerians of ancient history. The tradition amongst Tamil people also is that they came from the south.

After the deluge the descendants of Mayas also came to India, and being great builders built for Rawan and Yudhisthira. Becoming indianised they proceeded to Egypt and carried the tradition of the Indian Solar dynasty of Manu, Ikshvaku and Kukikch, where the first Egyptian dynasty began with Menes, Athithos, and Kenkenes. This dynasty built the Sphinx, a representation of Sun-god, in the form of a Narsingh or Tiger-man, thus combining the two Indian traditions of Narsingh and the Solar Dynasty.

The Yakshas were of the same race as some other races of South India as the Banars whom Sri Ram Chandra aryanised. They were the remains of a great African race isolated by the deluge.

Before the deluge about 35,000 years ago Aryans still lived in the Punjab and had dealings with other civilized races, the Daityas and Devas to the North, and Nagas to the East. Such are the conclusions to which ancient Puranic history leads.

(14)
SMRITIS—THEIR ORIGIN AND
DEVELOPMENT

R. SRINIVASA RAGHAVA AYYANGAR. M.A.

(*Government Museum, Madras.*)

Art of writing was unknown to the ancient Aryans during the Mantra period—Writing was introduced and employed for literary purposes only by the time of Pāṇini (VI, 3, 115), c. 3rd century B.C.—The time-honoured practice of learning by rote was resorted to even after the introduction of writing—Rules and elucidations on ancient Dharmas, etc., taught by the same method, and hence known as “Smritis”—Smritis (in a broad sense) include: (1) Six Vedangas, (2) Grihya Sutras, (3) Dharma Sutras, (4) Itihāsas, (5) The eighteen Purāṇas, (6) The Nīṭisastras—But now S. means the Dharmasastras—Smritis contain rules of life gathered from Srutis, Dharmajnasamaya, etc.—Smritis based on Sruti texts some of which are now lost—Dharmasastra and Smriti distinguished—(Smriti based on the Vedas and the Dharmasastras on Acharas)—For Vedic origin of teachings in the Smritis, cf. Manu, IV, 138, with RV., I, 1, 11—The threefold classification of Smritis according to Mīmamsakas—The Sutra style came into vogue for helping the memory—These Smritis acquired the authority of law—The Important Smritis—Code of Manu and its Sanctity—Manusamhitā based on an earlier Manava Sutra—Yasna refers to Vriddha-Manu and Āpastamba to Manu—Date—Later than the Sutra period (600 to 700 B.C.)—Its metre is later Anushtub—Reference to Yavanas, Kambojas and Śakas makes the work later than Greek invasion—Quoted from the later portions of the Mahābhārata—Date therefore before the 1st century B.C.—Growth of specialisation called for a manual like the Manusmriti—Āpastamba and his Dharmasutra—A Yajusha of Andhra country—His date—Mentions Śvetaketu (son

of Uddalaka Aruni) of the sixth century B.C.—Āpastamba's un-Panīnean expressions place him in the 6th century—Gautama—Sāmavedin—His Dharmasūtra later than Yavana invasion—Vasistha Dharmasūtra—Date—Vasistha was a composer of hymns and Mantras—His work therefore belongs to about 10th century B.C., when Aryans had newly colonised India—Quotations from Manu interpolations—Baudhayana Dharma Sūtras—Praśnas III and IV later—They are divided into Adhyāyās but not subdivided into Kandikas like P. I and II—Leanings for Southern customs—His popularity—Yajñavalkya Smṛiti—His spirit of reform—Manu and Yajñavalkya compared and contrasted—Date—Post-Buddhistic and post-Pauranic on account of reference to Vinayaka, Munda, Kashayavasas, Nanaka (the gold coin introduced during the reign of Denarius)—A pupil of Jaimini (first century B.C.)—Therefore the Smṛiti dates after the first century B. C.—Parasara Smṛiti—Recent—The Smṛitis by their definition of Aryavarta and their attitude towards the Deccan point to the gradual colonisation of countries in and about India by the ancient Aryans—The Smṛitis indicate social and other changes—History of the caste system—The rationale of Varna being applied to castes—Sattva, Rajas, Tamas—Caste originally based on psychological principles—Position of the Sudras—Slavery—Slaves sometimes emancipated—Position of Women—Held in high esteem—Upanayans performed in ancient times—By Yajñavalkya's time position lower—Marriage—Idea of companionship of late growth—Early marriage unknown to the ancient Aryans—Re-marriage—Tonsure of widows and Sati-sacrifice the essential element in the life of a true Hindu—Political condition of India—All laws emanated from God according to the Smṛitis, therefore no distinction of civil and criminal laws—Some non-Aryan customs borrowed by the Aryans, *e.g.*, the Mangala Sūtra in marriage, polyandry (*cf.* Conversation of Yudhishtira and Drupada), widow

marrying husband's brother, Paisacha and Rakshasa marriages—Mīmamsa necessary for the interpretation of the Smritis—Conclusion—The Spiritual character of Hindu life.

(15)

THE DATES OF PATANJALI AND VĀTSYĀYANA.

HIRALAL AMRAT LAL SHAW

(Bombay).

The present article is supplementary to the one—*"Puṣyamitra—Who is he?"*—submitted to the Madras Conference (1924) and now published in its Transactions.

Herein, passages alluding to "Mauryas" are further examined. It is found out that the passage in question, in the Mahābhāṣya of Patanjali, treats of (Maurya class of Brahmin) physicians conversant with "Māyuri Vidyā" in driving out evil spirits like "Skanda," "Viśakha," etc., and getting their dues (on behalf of gods) in rendering these services to afflicted parties. All this is brought out on the strength of evidence obtained from the last section of the well-known "Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya" of the reputed author *Vāgbhatta*.

As to the other passage, in the drama *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, it is further contended that political wisdom cannot allow the person imprisoned by Agnimitra, son of Puṣyamitra, to be the minister of a king and at the same time to be closely related with another king as his brother-in-law. The name of the man in question is "Mauryasachiva" which is a case of simple *proper* noun.

In this fashion, neither Patanjali nor Puṣyamitra had anything to do with the Maurya race of rulers. Having established this fact, Patanjali's very singular allusion to Vātsyāyana is discussed; and the passage containing *personal* opinion of Vātsyāyana ('इति वात्स्यायनः') occurring in the

Kāmasūtra, and cited by him, is brought to bear upon it, showing that Vātsyāyana must have flourished thereabout, and that, too, as his younger contemporary.

The passage of Kāmasūtra alluding to an Āndhra king is discussed in the light of antiquity of the Āndhra race extending even up to 500 B.C. Circa, according to Prof. Rapson's view of a reference in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. It is suggested that Śīsuka of the Purāṇic list was only first of those Āndhras who came in forefront on the political platform later on.

Total results of all investigations, past and present, are laid before the world of scholars for their consideration of the proposition that—Puṣyamitra, Patanjali and Vātsyāyana were *in the Nanda period (at its end), more or less all contemporaries.*

(16)

THE DATE OF KĀLIDĀSA.

RAM KUMAR CHAUBE, M.A.

(Benares).

From the use of the words "Kumar," "Skanda," and their synonyms scattered throughout the works of Kālidāsa, it is tried to show that he flourished during the Gupta Period and in the reigns of Kumar Gupta I, and Skanda Gupta, and not in the first century before Christ.

(17)

THE PROBABLE DATE OF SANKARA

I. Various dates for Sankara's birth as given by authorities:

(a) *Guru-paramparā* lists of the chief Sāṅkara Mathas.

(i) Sringeri, 44 B.C. (B. L. Rice, Mysore Archæologist, A.D. 737).

(ii) Kāñchī, 509 B.C.

(iii) Jagannātha, Do.

(iv) Dvārakā, 475 B.C.

(b) The Vāyu and the Bhavishyottara Purāṇas, end of 2000 Kali.

(i) Swarahasya, after 2000 Kali.

(ii) A verse quoted by Bhāskara Rāya, Saka 6 = A.D. 84.

(iii) Another verse, A.D. 1099.

(c) *Keralotpatti*, A.D. 400.

(d) The late Dinendra Pāl, on the strength of Sankara's traditional horoscope, A.D. 686 or A.D. 806 ; prefers the former.

(e) A Ms. brought to the notice of Western scholars by A. B. Paṭhak—A.D. 788, espoused by Max Müller and other Western scholars.

II. Evidence for Sankara's date being earlier than A.D. 800 :

(a) The Nepal Vamśāvalī, as shown by Dr. Fleet, C.I.E.

(b) Sarvajnātman's (*Prasishya* of Sankara) reference to Mānavya Āditya.

(c) Bhavabhūti's reference to the *vivarta* doctrine of Sankara.

(d) Sankara, an younger contemporary of Kumārila, whose date is about the close of the sixth century A.D.

(e) Sankara, according to Mādhava, a contemporary of Daṇḍin, Mayūra and Bāṇa, who all lived either about the close of the sixth or the early years of the seventh century A.D. Mādhava's reference to the author of *Khaṇḍana-Khaṇḍa* (Harsha) incidentally explained.

III. Internal evidence :

- (i) Reference to the *rāsis* and the Nakshatras beginning with Asvinī in Sankara's *Prapañcha-sāra* indicates a date after A.D. 500.
- (ii) Reference to *sankranti* as *punya kāla* in the Gītābhāshya, similar indication.
- (iii) Illustration relating to Srughna and Pātaliputra in the Sūtra-bhāshya indicates about A.D. 600 or a little earlier.
- (iv) Reference to Pūrṇavarman in the Sūtra-bhāshya indicates A. D. 600 or a little later. The last two points urged by the late Justice K. T. Telang.

(18)

THE DATE OF BHĀNUDATTA. AUTHOR OF
RASA-MANJARĪ

S. K. DE, M.A., D. LITT.

(Dacca).

In my *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. 1, p. 249, I made a tentative approximation of the date of Bhānudatta, author of *Rasa-manjari*, *Rasa-taraṅginī*, *Gīta-gaurīśa*, *Kumāra-bhārgaviya*, and other works, to the period between the 12th and the middle of the 14th century. One passage, however, of the *Rasa-manjari*, which was overlooked by me, seems to throw fresh light on the question and enables us to fix Bhānudatta's date with a somewhat greater precision.

In one of the illustrative verses of the *Rasa-manjari*, which exemplifies the *sāttvika guṇas*,¹ there is a description of the appearance of such *guṇas* in a young girl at the sight of one *Nijāma-dharaṇīpāla*.² As the name of some other kings of antiquity might as well have served the purpose of the poet, the mention of the Nizam in this verse is curious

¹ Called *sāttvika bhāvas* by other writers.

² Ed. Benares Sanskrit Series; Nos. 83, 84, 87, (1904), *Sl.* 121, p. 232. The line in question runs thus : *tat kiṃ rāja-pathe nijāma-dharaṇīpālo-yam ālokitāḥ*.

and cannot be dismissed easily as insignificant. It would not be improper to assume that here we have an indirect compliment paid to a reigning sovereign whose patronage the poet probably enjoyed. If we can decide who this Nizam was, our enquiry is narrowed down to a considerable extent.

As a commentary on *Rasa-mañjarī*, called *Rasamañjarī-vikāśa*, by Gopāla (alias Vopadeva), son of Nṛsiṃha, is expressly dated in 1572 A.D.,¹ it is clear that by the words *nijāma-dharanīpāla*, the poet cannot refer to the kings of the modern Nizam dynasty which dates from the comparatively recent time of Nizām-ul-mulk Āṣaf Khān. A probable clue to this problem is furnished by Ananta Paṇḍita, author of the *Vyaṅgyārtha-Kaumudī* commentary (A.D. 1636) on *Rasa-mañjarī*, who explains the phrase in question as *nijāmākhyo devagiri-rājaḥ*. If this interpretation is accepted,² then the Nizam referred to would be a king of

¹ The verse which gives the date of composition is thus quoted by Stein (*Jammu Catalogue*, Extracts, p. 273).

*tenāyaṃ yuga-randhra-veda-dharanī-gaṇye giro vatsare
mañjaryās tu vikāśa eṣa racito bhūyāt satām prītaye.*

Stein interprets *yuga-randhra-veda-dharanī* as 1484 with a query; but it really gives us 1494 (as corrected by Stein himself at p. 421). He thinks, however, that the *saṃvat* era is used, so that the date of composition of the commentary would be 1438 A.D. But Sridhar Bhandarkar (*Rept. of Second Tour*, 1904—6, p. 36) is probably right in holding that the *śaka* era is used, in which case the date of the commentary would be 1572 A.D.

² Although Ananta Paṇḍita is a fairly late writer belonging to the 17th century, it may be assumed that his interpretation is based upon some current tradition; for the older Nizam dynasty was all but extinct in his time. That the explanation is not a fanciful one is indicated by the fact that Ananta Paṇḍita gives, immediately afterwards, another (and this time a fanciful) interpretation of the passage, applying it to Kṛṣṇa: *yad vā, nijān ātmīyān amati prāpnoti iti nijāmaḥ, sa cāsau dharanīpālaḥ duḥsahā-dānavādi-vidāraakatvād iti bhāvah, etādṛśaḥ Śrī-Kṛṣṇa ityarthah.*

Devagiri whose name was Nizam. It is well known that Āḥmad Nizaam Shāh obtained possession of Daulatābād (Devagiri) some time between 1499 and 1507 A.D., and founded the Nizām Shahi dynasty of Dekkan, which continued in power till 1637 A.D.¹ The name Devagiri, however, was changed into Daulatābād as early as 1339 A.D., when Muhammad Ibn Tughlaq removed his capital from Delhi to that place.² The reference by Bhānudatta, therefore, seems to indicate a date at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century.

It is somewhat surprising that Bhānudatta, who describes Videha as his native place and represents the river Ganges flowing through his country,³ should eulogise a prince of Dekkan. It is possible that at some time or other of his career he might have come to the South. The misselection *vidarbha-bhūh* (in place of *videhabhūh*) in some manuscripts of *Rasamañjarī*⁴ indicates probably some tradition which connected him with Vidarbha, although this was not his native country.

Mr. B. N. Bhattāchārya refers⁵ to a tradition among Bihar Pandits that Bhānudatta's father wrote a work, called *Rasaratna-dīpikā*,⁶ and that his grandfather, Śaṅkara, who wrote a commentary on Śrīharṣa's *Khaṇḍana-kaṇḍa-khāḍya* (ed. in *Pandit*, xiii, 672),⁷ flourished about 1405 A.D.

¹ Briggs, *Ferishta*, ii, 200f.

² Briggs, *op. cit.*, i, 419.

³ *deśo yasya videhabhūh sura-sarit-kallola-kirmmīrita* (Śl. 138, p. 247).

⁴ See my *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, p. 249, footnote 2.

⁵ *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta Univ., Vol. IX, 1923, p. 163.

⁶ This is probably the work cited by Bhānudatta in his *Rasa-taraṅginī*, ed. Granthamālā, ad. i, 31; ed. Regnaud, p. 44, l. 32. My remarks on this work at p. 245, footnote 5, of my *Sanskrit Poetics* require correction.

⁷ See Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, 625 b; ii, 149 a; iii, 130 a.

Although this date of Bhānudatta's grandfather does not seriously conflict with the date of Bhānudatta proposed by us, this tradition, as I have already pointed out,¹ does not agree with Bhānudatta's genealogy as given by himself in his *Kumāra-bhārgavīya*, which tells us that the name of his grandfather was Mahādeva and not Śaṅkara.

In the genealogy of the *Kumāra-bhārgavīya*,² mention is made of one Sureśvara, son of Ratneśvara, who was an ancestor of Bhānudatta, separated by six generations from himself, and who wrote a *Śārīraka-bhāṣya-vārttika*. We need not identify, with Eggeling, this Sureśvara with the famous Sureśvara who was a disciple of Śaṅkarācārya; for otherwise the date of our Bhānudatta would have to be unwarrantably pushed back to a time which would be inconsistent with other data furnished by his texts.

(19)

A NOTE ON KĀLIDĀSA'S *KUMĀRASAMBHAVA*—
WHETHER CANTOS IX—XXII ARE
FROM HIS PEN?

SIVA PRASAD BHATTĀCHĀRYA, M.A., B.T.
(Calcutta).

1. General tendency to regard this as a closed question and to think that this part is a literary forgery—Reasons adduced: (a) The Puṣpikā or the colophon and the fact that commentaries on these cantos are not available. (b) These are not drawn upon as illustrations in *Alaṅkāra* works. (c) The general atmosphere—the want of decorum and morality.

¹ *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, p. 348.

² The genealogical verses are given in full in a notice of the work in *India Office Catalogue of Sansk. Mss.*, vii, p. 1540.

(d) Total want of any characteristic excellence of *Kālidāsa* in these cantos which would warrant their ascription to him.

2. These objections are far from convincing, and can be explained away—Objections met, one by one. The *K.S.* censured under 1 (c) cannot be the work of the same name by the rhetorician Udbhata.

3. Other arguments overpowering these objections—(a) The nature and plot of the *Mahākāvya* incomplete without this. A popular theory to explain this. (b) Some rather characteristic details or episodes of the *K. S.* seem to be referred to by early writers in the manner, often, in the language of *Kālidāsa*. (c) Family likeness of some of the verses in these cantos with other verses known to be of *Kālidāsa*. (d) Non-mention in any authoritative work or in any commentary of the *K.S.* of the departure of this *Mahākāvya* from the length and number of cantos usual in such compositions.

4. Incidentally worth note is the point of minimising the disciplinary value of *Alaṅkāra Sāstra* before *Kālidāsa* and of framing hypotheses about works and authors in the wake of Western scholars and dismissing them only after they have been demolished by arguments of these days. Conclusion.

(20)

BHĀRAVI AND DAṆḌIN

G. HARIHARA SĀSTRĪ.

In his paper on the discovery of the manuscripts of the two works *Avanti-sundarī-kathā* and *Avanti-sundarī-kathā-sāra* read in the second session of the Oriental Conference* held in Calcutta in 1922, Mr. Rāmakrishna-kavi has sought to make out a theory on the mutual relationship of Bhāravi and Daṇḍin on the basis of the following solitary verse of uncertain import—

स मेधावी कविर्विद्वान् भारविः प्रभवो गिराम् ।

अनुरुध्याकरोन्मैत्रीं नरेन्द्रे विष्णुवर्धने ॥

**Vide* Proc. and Trans., 1923, pp. 193f.

found in the latter work. This work appears to be a metrical summary by a later hand, of the ancient prose-work called *Avanti-sundarī-kathā* by Āchārya Daṇḍin; and, as such, a statement based merely on the metrical version but not supported by a corresponding prose passage of Daṇḍin cannot be accepted as authoritative. The prose passage of Daṇḍin corresponding to the verse quoted above was not clear as the text was hopelessly fragmentary. The present writer has since had occasion to notice an exceedingly worn-out palm-leaf manuscript of the *Avanti-sundarī-kathā* among the manuscripts acquired on behalf of the Department for the Publication of Sanskrit Mss., Trivandrum; and to decipher the following prose passage:—

“तत्रोदपादि भगवतो विधिवदाहृतसप्तन्तुरूपिणो नारायणस्वामिनो नाभिपद्म इव ब्रह्मैकधाम दामोदरस्वामिनामा (त्रेमातजो ?) यमः कुमारः । स यौववनारम्भ रावातिसुभगाकृतिरकृतकवाक्यदर्शितपुण्यसद्भावया, सर्वाङ्गमतोहरया, सर्वकला-विश्वया, सर्वभाषाप्रवीणया, प्रमाणयुक्तया, ललितपदविन्यासया, चतुरहद्यालङ्कारया, विशुद्धजातिवृत्तया सरस्वत्या स्वयंवर इव कन्यकया स्वयमुपेत्य सस्नेहमस्वज्यत । कोवि नाम भगवतीं भवितव्यतामतिक्रम्य यथासमीहितेन साधयति पथा यतः कौशिककुमारो महाशैवं महाप्रभावं गवांप्रभवं प्रदीप्तभासं भारविं रविमिवेन्दुरनुरूप्य (? रुध्य) दर्श इव पुण्यकर्मणि विष्णुवर्धनात्स्व्ये राजसूनौ प्रणयमन्वबध्नात्”*

The following is a summary of the passage :—

From Nārāyaṇasvāmin, the embodiment of holy sacrifice, was born Dāmodara. The Divine Muse marked Dāmodara for her own even in his youth. Who could, however, do away with the all-powerful Fate and tread the path chalked out by his own wish? Dāmodara associating himself with Bhāravi, the great Saivite and the fountain of the Muse, allied himself by ties of friendship with the prince Viṣṇu-vardhana.

The narrative of the *Avanti-sundarī-kathā* then goes on to say that Dāmodara, touring on a pilgrimage, happened

* I am enabled to give the extract by the kind permission of Brahmasri R. Harihara Sāstri, Head Pandit-in-charge of the Department for the Publication of Sanskrit Mss., Trivandrum.

to meet with the favour of the Ganga king Durvinīta, that Simha-Vishnu, the Pallava king of Kanchi, having been attracted by his poetic talents, honoured him with his favour and that Daṇḍin, the author of the work, was the fourth descendant, in the direct line from Dāmodara.

In the prose passage quoted above, the words, "*Bhāra-
vin*" and "*Prabhavam*" occur as objects of *Anurudhya*, while in the verse quoted from the metrical version the word "*Anurudhya*" stands without an object. It is evident therefore that the words *Bhāravih* and *Prabhavah* ending in visarga which, in the verse, being construed as referring to *sah* (Dāmodara) has led Mr. Kavi to infer that *Bhāravi* and *Dāmodara* were identical, should be read as *Bhāravim* and *Prabhavam*. What we learn from the prose and metrical quotations is that Bhāravi was a Saivite (Mahāśaiva) and a great poet (*girām prabhava*) attached to the prince Vishnu-varhdhana and that Dāmodara who was also endowed with poetic gifts of a high order secured the friendship of the king through the medium of Bhāravi.

The further narrative of Daṇḍin mentions Simha-Vishnu, the Pallava king of Kanchi, and Durvinīta, the Ganga king, as contemporaries of Vishnu-varhdhana, and inscriptions also reveal three kings of these same names as rulers of various provinces in the Dekkan in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. It is certain therefore that the individuals known from inscriptions were the same as those referred to by Daṇḍin. The fame of Bhāravi as a poet had grown second to none but Kālidāsa so early as 634 A.C., as proved by the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, the elder brother of Vishnu-varhdhana referred to; and, judging from his *Kirātārjunīya*, he should have been a Saivite poet. Bhāravi mentioned in the *Avanti-sundarī-kathā* is, therefore, none else than the author of the *Kirātārjunīya*, and as Vishnu-varhdhana seems to have been Bhāravi's patron, while he was still a prince, *i.e.*, before he became the

Eastern Chalukya king in 615 A.C. and after the accession of Pulakesin I in 608 A.C., Bhāravi may be assigned to the beginning of the 7th century A.C.; while the date of Daṇḍin, the fourth descendant of Dāmodara, roughly falls about the close of the 7th century A.D.

(21)

ŚRĀṆGĀRIC ELABORATION IN ŚAKUNTALĀ, ACT III

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The love scene in the Third Act from the *exit* of Śakuntalā's companions from the cane-bower to their re-entrance in the company of Gautami is four times as large in the Kashmir-Bengālī recension as it is in the Devanāgarī and South-Indian recension. The paper discusses the possibility of reaching, on critical grounds, a version neither too short nor too long and satisfying all the aesthetic and dramatic requirements.

The main argument relied upon is not so much the quotations from the longer version by Varddhamāna Viśvanātha, and other Bengali writers subsequent to the 10th century A.D., but rather the deliberate imitation of Kālidāsa's dramatic motives that we find in so early a writer as Śrīharṣa (7th century). The bower-scene in the Second Act of Śrīharṣa's *Ratnāvalī* seems to be obviously patterned upon the bower-scene in the Third Act of the *Śakuntalā*, just as the Bee-episode in the Second Act of the *Prīyadarśikā* reproduces a somewhat similar situation in the First Act of the *Śakuntalā*. There are also other parallels in words and ideas between the plays of Kālidāsa and of Śrīharṣa which have been set forth in detail. Śrīharṣa's works can therefore be used for critically constituting the original form of the

Śrīngāric scene in the Śakuntalā. Reasons have been advanced for retaining in this fashion a text which occupies about 8 stanzas and 65 prose lines in place of the 3 stanzas and 23 prose lines given by Cappeller or the 13 stanzas and 78 prose lines given by Pischel.

(22)

WAS ŚRĪHARṢA A BENGALI?

R. M. SHASTRI, M.A., M.O.L., Etc.

(Allahabad University).

Mr. Nīlakamala Bhaṭṭāchārya in the second part of his article "Naiṣadha and Śrīharṣa" published on pp. 159—194 of the *Sarasvatī Bhavana Studies*, Vol. III (Benares, 1924), has attempted to establish that Śrīharṣa was a Bengali on the following assumptions:—

1. The "Ulūlu sound" (XIV, 51) and the "Use of Conch Bangles" (XV, 45, and XII, 35) referred to by the poet are peculiar to Bengal (pp. 170—178 and 178—182 respectively).
2. There is reflection of the influence of Bengal *Tantra* in the poet's character.
3. "Vijaya-praśasti" and "Gauḍorvīṣa-kulapraśasti" describe the panegyrics of King Vijayasena of Bengal.
4. The poet's alliterations evince his Bengali pronunciation of words.
5. Doubts regarding the evidence of his being a non-Bengali in (a) his mother's name, (b) his family title as "Miśra," (c) his acquaintance with Paṇini, (d) his honours at the Kanauj court, and (e) his Kashmir relationship are easily removed.

In my paper I have shown how such futile arguments do not conclusively prove the point, and how the whole dilemma can be rebutted on the basis of similar arguments in favour of Kanauj against Bengal. Some other reasons also in support of the poet's being a Kānyakubja have been adduced for the consideration of the scholars.

BHAGAVADAJJUKIYAM (SOME NEW PROBLEMS)

ASHOKANATH BHATTACHARYYA, B.A.

(Calcutta).

Two forms of Sanskrit Kāvya (poetry) are generally recognised—

- (1) Drśya or Abhineya—capable of being represented on the stage, and
- (2) Śravya—to be heard.

The first form has again been subdivided into two main classes:—

(a) Rūpakas—principal plays, and (b) Uparūpakas—minor plays. The number of Rūpakas, as given in the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata, Sāhityadarpana, Daśarūpa and other Sanskrit works on dramaturgy, is *ten*, and the list is as follows:—

- (1) Nāṭaka, (2) Prakaraṇa, (3) Bhāṇa, (4) Vyāyoga, (5) Samavakāra, (6) Dīpa, (7) Īhāmṛga, (8) Aṅka, (9) Vīthī, and (10) Prahāsana.

This is a point on which Oriental scholars have, up till now, found no ground to differ.

But recent discoveries in the field of Sanskrit dramatic literature have brought us face to face with a very singular exception as regards the enumeration of the Rūpakas.

Bhagavadajjukīyam—a Prahāsana, which differs remarkably on many points from all other plays of the same type, gives a very curious list of plays, in its Prastāvanā. “The list of ten Rūpakas, in all our Nāṭyaśāstras, includes the Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa, while our author mentions ten kinds of plays sprung from Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa, and mentions, besides Īhāmṛga and other kinds of Rūpakas found also in the usual lists, Vāra as the first and Sallāpa as the seventh.¹ Sallāpa, *i.e.*, Saṃlāpaka² or discourse, appears as a type of

¹ “नाटकप्रकरणोद्भवसुवारे हामृग डिमसम वकार व्यायोग भाण सल्लापवी ध्युतू सृष्टि कांक प्रहसनादिषु दश जातिषु नाट्यरसेषु हास्यमेव प्रधानम्...”

—भगवदज्जुकीयम्-प्रस्तावना

² An Uparūpaka is also of the same name.

drama elsewhere, but Vāra seems to be otherwise quite unknown."¹

We do not know how far Prof. Winternitz is justified in identifying Sallāpa with Saṃlāpaka. Just as Bhāṇikā, the Uparūpaka, is different from Bhāṇa, the Rūpaka, so also Saṃlāpaka, the Uparūpaka, may be quite different from Sallāpa, the Rūpaka (if it really be so). Now we are to take up the question whether we are to call Sallāpa and Vāra Rūpakas or Uparūpakas. Our author is silent on that point. If we are allowed to call them Rūpakas, then surely Prof. Winternitz's theory would fall to the ground. In the meantime it may be pointed out, that the author of the play does not perhaps mean to say that Vāra, Īhāmrga, etc., are different species of Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa. The passage only means that these plays (Vāra, etc.) bear some likeness to Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa, which are therefore considered as their source. Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa, Īhāmrga and other plays being all taken as Rūpakas in our Nāṭyaśāstras, Vāra and Sallāpa also must necessarily be considered to be of the same type by way of association. It would not be, therefore, wrong to add that the prologue gives us a list of no less than **12** Rūpakas instead of *ten*.

Among the Prahasanas hitherto published Bhagavadajjukīyam holds a very unique position. It differs from Mattavilāsa inasmuch as it purports to be a "comedy proper," rather than "a real farce and satire," as Mattavilāsa claims to be. But on that account it is in no way inferior to Mahendravidikrama's play. Another point, to be noted in this connection, is that Vidūṣaka appears only in the prologue instead of Naṭī or Pāripārśvika, and is not mentioned anywhere else in the body of the play. Prof. Winternitz is of opinion that this Vidūṣaka is identical with the Śāṇḍilya of the play.

¹ Winternitz—Preface to "Bhagavadajjukīyam."

Nothing definite can be said about the age of the play. Like the thirteen dramas attributed to Bhāsa, it also omits to mention the names of both the work and the author in the prologue. But the names (of both the work and the author) are found in the colophon and in the opening verse of the old commentary published with it. But this does not go towards solving the much-vexed problem of its age. All that we can gather after a careful perusal of the work, is that it was written at a period when Buddhism was on the decline in South India; but even then the condition of the Buddhist society had not become so corrupt, as it was at the time when *Mattavilāsa* was composed (early in the 7th century A.D.). Thus the play seems to go back to a very early period, earlier perhaps than that of *Mattavilāsa*. For obvious reasons, it cannot be called a compilation as Mr. A. K. Prisharoti has tried to show in his paper on Bhāsa. We are really at a loss to understand why he calls it a compilation. Unlike the *Hanumannāṭaka* and the *Dāmakaprahasana*, this play possesses a distinct mark of originality. Neither can its author Bodhāyana Kavi be possibly identified with the great *Vṛttikāra* of the *Brahmasūtras*, as Prof. Winternitz has suggested. Would it not be rather ludicrous to assume that the *Great Vṛttikāra* could really demean himself to write such a petty farce as this?

Thus we see that many a new problem has been raised by the publication of the play. At present the materials that may lead to the solution of these problems are quite scanty and consequently insufficient.

May we not venture to hope that Oriental scholars, who have specialised in this subject, would kindly throw some light on questions that still remain open?

TĀPASAVATSARĀJA

M. RAMA KRISHNA KAVI, M.A.

(Rajahmundry).

This work has been given a high place in rhetorical works. Dr. John Nobel has now supplied photographs of the whole work (32 plates in Kashmirian script—wanting about 10 lines in the beginning and half a śloka at the end). It closely agrees with some quotations and differs a little from others.

This drama not quoted by any one after 1200 A.D. Its author Mātrarāja (Anaṅgaharsha). The author of Kuṭṭinīmata mentions one Anaṅgaharsha—no one else refers to the author. The work, however, is quoted by several (Dhvanyāloka, Nāṭyadarpaṇa, etc.). Mention of Māyurāja found in Dhanika. Is this Mātrarāja the same (by Prakrit corruption)? Sarvānanda in his commentary on Nānalinganushāsanam quotes a line from our drama as Māyuraja's (Dr. G. Shastri's reading Māthurāja is incorrect). Verses of Udattarāghava quoted in other works resemble those in our drama in diction. Thus Māyurāja is the author of *Tāpasavatsarāja*.

May we know anything about Māyurāja? Rājaśekhara calls him a Kalachuri prince and Sodhala terms him a Sāmanta.

His date.—Older than 800 A.D. Kuṭṭinīmata's reference might suggest that our author is earlier than Shriharsha of Ratnavālī (of Ujjain, two centuries earlier than Harshavardhana). Our drama deals with Udayana's second wife Padmāvatī who is mentioned in the Vrihatkathā. She is also mentioned by Bhāsa and Subandhu who are earlier than Māyurāja and by Bhīmaṭa in Manoramāvatsarāja which is decidedly later than our drama. Whether Viśākhadeva was earlier than Anaṅgaharsha is still at issue. Internal evidence may place him about 600 A.D. (Selection of metres and Vatsarāja turning a Buddhist monk).

General theme of the drama is a combination of politics and amours. Udayana's extreme love for Vāsava-dattā causes neglect of kingly duties and hence Yaugandharāyaṇa plans things by which she is proclaimed as burnt. The minister is then able to court the assistance of Darśaka, Padmāvatī's brother, against an enemy of Vatsarāja.

Unlike Bhāsa's drama every character here exhibits some individual trait. The plot over six acts. The language is polished. A few verses are quoted.

(25)

SHIVABHĀRATA

R. M. SHASTRI.

This is the name of a poem written in imitation of the Mahābhārata by Paramānanda in 17 chapters describing the life of Shivaji the Great. The contents of the poem are as follows :—

Chapter I—The occasion for writing the poem. Account of Maloji. Birth of two sons, Shahji and Sharif.

Chapter II—Death of Maloji in the fifth year of Shahji. The two brothers taken to Nizam Shah. Marriage of Shahji with Jija and of Sharif with Durga.

Chapter III—Combat of the Maratha Sardars. Beginning of the quarrel between Shahji and his father-in-law Yadavarao.

Chapter IV—Yadavarao courts help from Delhi. Moghuls defeated by Shahji and Malik Amber (1623 A.D.).

Chapter V—Rising of Shahji's fortune. Shambhu and Shivaji prominent among the six sons of Jija and Shahji. Shivaji an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

Chapter VI—Birth of Shivaji (Phalgun Badi 3, 1551 S. V.) on the Shivaneri hill fort. Shahji, returning after defeating Darya Khan, distributes alms.

Chapter VII—The child.

Chapter VIII—Question of the Pandits of Benares and Paramānanda's answer—Moghuls and the Adilshahis crush the Nizam Shahi—Famine.

Chapter IX—Shahji seizes many forts and establishes his power with many Maratha chiefs—He fights with Shahjahan for three years, but finally gives up the contest—Moghul conquests of the South and appointment of Shahji at Bangalore Jaghir which he had conquered laboriously—Here he lives with Jija and her sons—Shivaji learns to read and write.

Chapter X—In his twelfth year Shivaji is made King of Poona country by his father—His mastery over various arts and sciences—He is married to Saibai of the Paramāra family.

Chapter XI—Shahji conquers Karnatak—Mahmud wishes to control him.

Chapter XII—Shahji's camp attacked—Great fighting—Baji Ghorpade seized Shahji, who is carried to Bijapur.

Chapter XIII—Shambhuji defeated invaders at Bangalore—Shivaji's speech after Mahmud's armies have taken Belsar and Shirwal—The latter place regained by Shivaji's chiefs under Kavaji.

Chapter XIV—Fight—Triumphant Shivaji thinks of advancing on Bijapur.

Chapter XV—Details of Shahji's exploits in Mahmud's soliloquy—Release of Shahji and after his instigation Shambhu and Shivaji delivering Bangrur and Sinhagad.

Chapter XVI—Shivaji's consultation with his Foreign Minister Sonaji to make his other forts impregnable.

Chapter XVII—Shivaji becomes most invincible.

THE FOURTEEN MĀHEŚVARA SŪTRAS.

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The tradition, as usually understood, relating to the Māheśvara Sūtras is that they were given by God Maheśvara to Pāṇini who wrote his Aṣṭādhyāyī on their basis. But this is not the full tradition. Since the time of Patañjali, there has been a tradition that these Śivasūtras are really Veda, and therefore eternal. But as Veda, they are nothing more than an arrangement of the sounds of the language in a particular order, *without the final "इत्" letters*. The Kashmiri tradition, recorded in the 11th century A.D. in the **बृहत्कथामञ्जरी** and the **कथासरित्सागर** declares that Pāṇini received the whole of **व्याकरणशास्त्र** from God Śiva. When the Pratyāhāra Sūtras were connected with God Siva is not known, but the tradition is found in the Pāṇiniya Śikṣā, believed by scholars to be a late work, and in the Kāśikā of Nandikeśvara on the Śivasūtras. The latter work further states that the final letters of the Pratyāhāra Sūtras were added on for the sake of the development of grammar and in order that *Pāṇini and others* might fulfil their wishes. Nāgeśa, while commenting on the above, makes it clear that God Śiva only added the final letters called "**इत्**" to the already existing Sūtras. This is the full tradition. Is there anything in the statement of Nandikeśvara that God Śiva gave these Sūtras to *Pāṇini as well as to the other grammarians*? Were they known to pre-Pāṇinean grammarians? This is really part of a bigger question: Were the artificial devices used by Pāṇini in his work wholly or partly known to his predecessors? This question has been discussed by Goldstücker in his "Pāṇini." There is no reason to doubt that the Sūtra-system was known before Pāṇini and there is therefore an "a priori" reason to believe that artificial devices were also known, as the latter have a tendency to creep into

Sūtra-works. Goldstücker came to some conclusions regarding the bigger question, on the basis of the Sūtra “तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात्” and the Bhāṣya on it together with Kaiyyata’s commentary. The last of his conclusions was that such technical terms as टि, चु, and भ were, *in the opinion of Patañjali*, known before Pāṇini. If this conclusion is correct, our question is finally settled. For, if the terms टि and भ were known before Pāṇini, the Śivasūtras must also have been known, for these terms presuppose the existence of the Sivasūtras. Unfortunately, his conclusions were based on a misunderstanding of the Bhāṣya and Kaiyyata’s commentary on Pāṇini 1.2.53. Neither Kaiyyata nor Patañjali anywhere says that these terms were known before Pāṇini. Therefore, until there is more evidence and in spite of the statement “पाणिन्या-दीष्टसिद्धये” we are justified in believing that these Pratyāhāra Sūtras were Pāṇini’s own invention.

(27)

SANSKRIT LEXICOGRAPHY (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE RECENT STAGE)

P. RAMAVATARA SHARMA, M.A.

(Patna).

The Samāmnāya (a glossary of important works in the Rgveda).

Works of Kāṭya, Vyādi, etc., between Yāska and Amara (6th century B.C. to 6th century A.D.).

Dictionaries of Synonyms—(mainly) Amara, Dhananjaya, Kesava, etc.

Dictionaries of Homonyms—Mankha, Visva, Kesavaswāmin, etc.

Dictionaries of Synonyms and Homonyms (both)—Yādava, Hemachandra, etc.

Provincial, Prakrit and foreign (Arabic, Greek, etc.) elements in Sanskrit.

Special Dictionaries (Ayurvedic, Tantric, etc.)—*Tāntra-bhīdhana*, *Rajanighantu*, etc.

The classical system compared with the modern.

The merits of the metrical lexicons with their running commentaries. Their chief defects. The Alphabetical modern dictionaries. Their advantages and disadvantages.

The *Sabdarthachintāmani*.

The *Sabdakalpadruma* and the *Vāchaspatyas*.

The *Nyāyakosha*.

The two German Dictionaries (with supplements just being issued) and Mon. William's English reduction of the same. Their chief merits. Their defects—Worthless compound words, sense sometimes misunderstood, unnecessary quotations, undue dependence on staff and want of unity, absence of pictorial illustrations, the original explanations not preserved, etc., etc.

The idea of a New Sanskrit Dictionary—Its plan explained—Combination of the classical and the modern methods.

Sample pages.

(28)

ALAṆKĀRA-ŚĀSTRA AND ITS BEARINGS ON THE CREATIVE ASPECT OF POETRY

(A Critical Study of *Dhvanyāloka* from this View-point.)

KUPPUSWAMI SHASTRI, M.A.

Reproduced by U. Venkata Krishn Rao, B.A.

(*South Kanara*).

There is an existence of a large mass of literary criticism in Sanskrit. The dominant method employed in them is the literary method. It has been understood from various view-points—रस (Bharata), अलङ्कृति (Bhāmaha), गुण (Daṇḍin), रीति (Vāmana), ध्वनि (Ānandavardhana), वक्रोक्ति (Kunṭaka), अनुमान (Mahimabhāṭṭa), and औचित्य (Kshemendra). The different theories meet on common ground when they say : सहृदयाह्लादजनकं काव्यम् but diverge on कथं वा सहृदयाह्लादजनकं भवति ?

Kāvya has been likened to a wife who instructs her husband indirectly in sweet words. Artistic worth need not depend upon moral worth, but a harmonious blending of both artistic and moral worth is required in Kāvya.

Ānandavardhana establishes the existence of Dhvani and proceeds to show that it has to be recognised as a separate entity and to be more important than वाच्य. He defines Dhvani and shows how it cannot be brought under any अलङ्कार. He then subdivides it under विवक्षितान्यपरवाच्य and अविवक्षितवाच्य. He also establishes the difference between ध्वनि and भक्तिवाद.

The second Uddyôta is of great utility to the poet in the creative capacity. This and the two succeeding are eminently practical in the hints they offer to one who wants to be a poet. It gives two other divisions of Dhvani. To him must be given the credit of having established, in the first instance, the difference between the nature of Guṇas and Alankāras.

He takes the reader on to various kinds of Dhvani : शब्द-शक्तिमूल, अर्थशक्तिमूल and उभयशक्तिमूल.

He determines the styles best suited to particular compositions and incidentally raises the question of the two faults.

He passes on to विषयौचित्य, etc. He then leads us on to other aspects of literary criticism to the प्रतिभा. He gives devices to secure रसप्राधान्य. Incidentally he considers the question of वृत्त्यौचित्य and discusses the nature of वृत्ति. He considers the question of गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्य.

In the fourth Uddyôta, we have a great deal of useful matter. It shows how ध्वनि can lead to प्रतिभानन्त्य. The Dhvani theory rendered a psychological synthesis and analysis of the mind's contents.

Our author has committed some mistakes also in his work. The rigidity of the criterion for a scientific classification has led to अनवस्था. Again rigidity in classification led to enormous classifications of व्यङ्ग्य. The dynamic and the

didactic side of literature came to be weaned away from each other.

In short our *Alaṅkāra* literature is a rich treasure for both critical and creative artists. *Dhvanyāloka*, as the best *Alaṅkāra* work possible, can guide us to the correct path.

An appeal for a better edition of *Dhvanyāloka*.

(29)

THE GAUḌĪ RĪTĪ IN THEORY AND IN PRACTICE

SIVA PRASAD BHATTĀCHĀRYYA, M.A., B.T.

(Calcutta).

1. Psychology of the *Rīti* School supplies the possibility of a *Gauḍī Rīti*, partly in a language like Sanskrit—The *G.R.* an acknowledged style from rather early days—Daṇḍin's strictures give it a degree of prominent traces of animus in his treatment—Earlier references in Bhaṭṭabāṇa and Bhāmaha—Remarks.

2. Vāmana's observations—Connection of this with the Gauda commentary—Analogous cases—Which Gauda gave the name to the *Rīti*—The conception stereotyped in later writers (Rudrata, Bhoja), etc., on rhetoric—Even late Bengal rhetoricians find fault with the *Gauḍī Rīti*.

3. Constituent elements of the *G.R.* as reconstructed from a study of works on poetics, barring out eccentricities and overcensorious attacks—Notes of indigenous commentators (from the standpoint of *Alaṅkāra*) on the classical *Kāvya*s very seldom afford us any clue on this point of *Rīti determination*—Reasons for this.

4. *Kāvya* literature of Gauda *Kāvya* before Daṇḍin almost a blank to us. This paucity can be explained—Sanskrit Inscriptional literature of Bengal, before and after—The *G.R.* of the *Ālaṅkārikas* and that evidenced in such

writings—Political history of Bengal before Sixth century affords proofs of cultural asset and uniqueness—The said Sanskrit Kāvya in the 8th—10th century—What they indicate. The departure from the imaginary *G.R.* stock can be withheld and vindicated.

5. The *Rīti* or the style in the 11th and the 12th centuries in Bengal—Śrīharṣa, Umāpati-dhara, Dhoyī, Gayadeva, Govardhana—Later writers—Rūpa Goswami, Kavikarṇpūra—The style, as influencing, and as influenced in its turn later by, the vernacular literature of the land.

6. The *Gauḍi Rīti* of the *Ālaṅkārikas* is a *rudhi* (रुढ़ि) to students of Sanskrit literature. Why and how? This is an instance in point of what constituted the forte and paved the way for a consequent weakness in the literature of criticism in India. Bringing into light of Gauḍiṇya works of the 7th century and earlier can only explain and throw light on this question.

(30)

EARLY EUROPEAN OCCURRENCES OF PANCHATANTRA FABLES

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

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in Yale University*).

This paper touches first on the old question of inter-relationship between Hindu and Western, especially Greek, fables. No satisfactory solution has been reached heretofore because the methods employed have been unscientific.

Comparisons have been based on vague resemblances, which can be used equally well to prove borrowing in either direction, but which *really* prove nothing at all when carefully analysed.

The writer believes that most Greek and Hindu fables are, in fact, independent of each other. Real inter-relation-

ship can be proved in extremely few cases. There are two such cases among the fables of the original Panchatantra (as reconstructed by the writer), *viz.*, "The Ass in the Panther's Skin" (III, 1) and "The Ass without Heart and Ears" (IV, 1). In both of these cases the writer undertakes to prove that *Hindu* stories have wandered westward (by popular, oral communication). They are not found in Europe until Christian times. Greece, not India, was the borrower here; but this does not necessarily prove that in other cases India may not have been the borrower.

Further, the paper shows that a few other Panchatantra fables reached Western Europe in early medieval times, *before* the Arabic version (Kalilah-wa-Dimnah) reached the West in translations. Among these early stray wanderers are The Brahman and Mongoose (Knight and Dog), The Brahman and Three Rogues, The Mouse-Maiden, etc. All of these have their source in the Arabic Kalilah-wa-Dimnah, but reached the West indirectly. Among the possible or probable routes of transmission the paper discusses: (1) the Jews, who were in touch with both Arabs and "Franks"; (2) the crusaders, some of whom are among the first to record these fables; (3) the Byzantine empire; (4) other Arabic literary works, one of which, at least, borrowed a story from the Kalilah-wa-Dimnah, and was translated very early into European languages. (This is "Sindibad or the Seven Sages.")

The general conclusion is that Europe became acquainted with quite a number of stories ultimately borrowed from the Panchatantra, *before*—and in some cases *long* before—complete translations of the work (through the Arabic version) began to appear in Europe.

The writer considers that the greatest value of the paper lies, however, in the *method* it inculcates, by examples, for the comparative study of stories.

A MIKIR TALE OF THE SWAN-MAIDEN TYPE AND ITS ANCIENT SANSKRIT PARALLEL

PROF. KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

(Monghyr).

The story of *Harata Kunwar* occurs in Messrs. Stack (and Lyall's) book entitled the "Mikirs" (1908). The name itself suggests that the tale is a Hindu one, but the author is unable to find any Hindu version of the tale. The present writer proposes to establish that this tale must have been derived from some ancient story preserved in Sanskrit (or Buddhistic) literature. He gives in the article the summary of the story "Harata Kunwar," and the story of "Sudhana Kunwar," No. XXX, in the *Divyāvadāna*, edited by Cowell and Neil. He then points out the essential similarity between the two tales with a view to prove that the "Mikir" tale was ultimately derived from the story of "Sudhana Kunwar," from which might have descended many a version preserved in Hindu vernacular folklore. The Mikir version of the story was therefore derived from one of such vernacular versions and adapted to Mikir life, to harmonise with which it was given a local setting and colouring. This at times occasioned a subtle humour, *e.g.*, the daughters of the Great Sun are not even free from the lowly duties of an humble Mikir home, *viz.*, to house fowls and pigs, heat the beer or pound rice, etc.

The essential features in the two stories are :

- (i) the maidens are supernatural,—daughters of the Sun (*Mikir*), and of the Kinnara King (*Div.*);
- (ii) their flying virtue resides in their clothes (*Mikir*), or jewel and clothes (*Div.*);
- (iii) they may be made captive when their magic things are taken away;
- (iv) they are married to mortals;
- (v) they do not like to remain with men, and after some time fly away;

(vi) the contrivance of accomplishing the final reunion between the mortal and heavenly pair of lovers is the same, brought about by a ring which falls out from a jar of water poured over the heroine in both the Mikir and Divyāvadāna tales.

The characteristics indicated in (i) to (v) constitute the very nature of the Swan Maidens, figuring in the Aryan Myth, Teutonic or Indian, and their local descendants in Middle Age Romance or popular folklore.

A North Cebbes variant of the tale of "Harata Kunwar" referred to by the author is supposed by the present writer to be a case of migration of tales to the islands in the Indian Ocean which were at one time profoundly affected by Indian culture.

His conclusive opinion is contained in the last paragraph of the article.

(32)

VEDIC LITERATURE

PADIT KEDAR NATH

(Jaipur).

The Vedic literature is very vast. Only a few of the works have been published yet. We are indebted to the editors of such texts and to the modern writers on Vedic subjects for the help they have given us in understanding the past. But much more remains to be done. Intensive and wide search should be made for manuscripts of the apparently lost texts, and all the available texts in the well-known libraries and in private collections should be published, including *paddhatis* of the different sacrifices. Competent scholars should also be encouraged to write on Vedic subjects, and there should be arrangement for teaching Vedic texts

in the Universities. There should also be Yajñasālās in cities like Benares or Allahabad. The writer has given some illustrations of how R̥gvedic texts can be made to yield astronomical sense.

(33)

KUMĀRILA AND PRABHĀKARA

CHINNASWĀMI ŚĀSTRĪ

(Benares).

Pandit Pashupati Nath Shāstri's objections against Professor Kuppeśwami Shāstri's view about the relation between Kumārila and Prabhākara are not convincing. Prabhākara came after Kumārila and was his pupil. The Prapañcahr̥daya mentions Prabhākara after Kumārila in a context where chronological order seems implied (pp. 38, 39). Śālikanātha's Vārtikakāra must be Kumārila. Such of the quotations as can be traced to the Ślokavārtika are certainly Kumārila's and the rest must be from his Bṛhat-ṭīkā. There was no other Vārtikakāra in the Mīmāṃsā literature, otherwise Kumārila would not have been referred to in literature as *the* Vārtikakāra. Professor Kuppeśwami has shown that Umveka was really Kumārila's pupil. Pārthasārathimiśra in course of commenting on the Ślokavārtika says something that makes it clear that Kumārila himself is the author of the Bṛhat-ṭīkā (p. 452). The words of Kumārila in the Vārtika and of Pārthasārathi in its commentary make it evident that the Śatapakṣī refuted in the Nyayaviveka was collected by Kumārila himself and not by any of his predecessors. As the Bṛhatī quotes Bhāravi (634 A.D.) and Bhartṛhari (650 A. D.), its author Prabhākara could not be Kumārila's predecessor. Therefore (1) Kumārila and Prabhākara lived about the same time, (2) Umveka was Kumārila's

pupil, (3) and so also must have been Maṇḍana and Prabhākara, (4) Śālikanātha as a contemporary of Maṇḍana must have been Prabhākara's direct disciple, (5) the Vārtikakāra referred to in the Prakaraṇapañcikā is none other than Kumārila and (6) his quoted Kārikās are some from the Śloka-vārtika and the others from the Br̥hat-ṭīkā, both by Kumārila.

(34)

RASOPĀSANA (THE WORSHIP OF RASA)

B. ŚRINIVĀSABHAṬṬA SĀHITYAŚIROMAṆI

(Uḍupī.)

This is a paper in Sanskrit on the *Rasa* in poetry. After the definition and nine-fold classification of *Rasa* is given a detailed analysis of Śṛṅgāra, Hāsyā, Karuṇa, Raudra, Vīra, Bhayānaka, Bībhatsa, Adbhuta and Śānta—Transference of *Rasa* to readers or spectators of poems or dramas—Bharata's statement that *Rasa* results from the combination of Vibhāva, Anubhāva and Vyabhicāribhāva and the different interpretations put on it by the later writers—Manifestation theory of Mīmāṃsaka Lollaṭa—Inference theory of the logician Śaṅkuka—The Sattvotreka theory of the Sāṅkhya Bhaṭṭanāyaka—The view of Abhinavagupta—How even the sentiments of grief, etc., are relished by readers—The seven obstacles of realisation of *Rasa*—Other hindrances—How far *Rasa* is Brahmānandasahodara—Speculations as to the Advaita or Dvaita character of *Rasa* give us no help, but instead make *Rasa nīrasa*—Conclusion.

(35)

SANSKRIT AS A SPOKEN LANGUAGE AND ITS EXCELLENCE

PANDIT R. ŚRINIVĀSA RĀGHAVA AYYANGAR

This language used by Vālmiki, Vyāsa, and other ancient sages and supported by Manu and other ancient kings

and continued in use by the later writers has produced works of great value. But it is now in a decadent condition. Westerners have realised its value and are lending their support to it. It is a language which we still use for our religious rites and learned disquisitions. It is wrong to brand it as a dead language. Whatever tongue expresses ideas is a language. Such Sanskrit certainly is. Its use was not confined to books. Yāska and Pāṇini call this language *bhāṣā*, distinguishing it from the Vedic language. Compare Pāṇini, VIII, 2,83, 84, etc., and the references to the dialectic variations in the different provinces. The dialogue between a grammarian and a charioteer in the Mahābhāṣya (on I,4,56) shows how widely the use of Sanskrit was diffused. That the higher characters in dramas speak Sanskrit shows the general intelligibility of that language. Vālmiki and the author of the Śukranīti also support a wide use of Sanskrit.

(36)

SOME REMARKS ON SANSKRIT

PANDIT KṚṢṆA ŚĀSTRĪ, VEDĀNTA BHŪṢAṆA

This is a short paper in Sanskrit (without any title) on Sanskrit literature and Hindu culture. After a few sentences in prose on the divine connexion of the Sanskrit language the writer makes his remarks in six Sragdharā verses.

(37)

BHĀRATA SUBHIKṢAM

PANDIT NILAKANṬHA SHARMA

(Paṭṭambi, Kerala).

It is a paper in Sanskrit on a current socio-political topic, viz., the present-day poverty of India. The writer has described the present conditions and laid down some methods for improving them.

(38)

THE INDIAN IDEAL OF DHARMA IN ITS RATIONAL APPLICATION TO SOCIOLOGY AND RELIGION

N. SUBRAHMANYA IYER, M.A.

(Trivandrum).

It is by mutual dependence and regard that there can be happiness in the world. If each does its own duty and does not encroach upon that of others, nor poses itself as superior to others, then everything will go on smoothly. This is the real purpose of the Varṇāśrama Dharma, in spite of abuse in certain quarters. Peoples should take its lesson and extend it beyond the confines of their own countries. There would thus be international dependence and help and that would make for real progress.

(39)

BASIS OF DHARMA

JWALA PRASAD SINGHAL, M.A.

(Dehra Dun).

To have a sound system of ethics it is necessary to understand the position of man in the scheme of nature through a right metaphysical theory, for we can appreciate the laws of his being only when we know the nature of his origin and development. Although indulging in "Cosmologies" is a term of reproach for the practically minded, the prevalent practical systems of ethics in the form of religions find it necessary to refer themselves to some form of cosmology, while in Hindu Philosophy the realisation of self is the very aim of life. Vedant does not declare the ultimate principle as unknowable but gives

a positive description of it, and even prescribes the necessity of knowing it, and in the Sadhan for this knowing by way of Yog the practice of the virtues and the avoidance of the vices is specially inculcated in the Yams and Niyams. The same is the significance of the word Dharma, which depends upon natural characteristics. Thus metaphysical investigation is not unnecessary but pertinent to a proper system of Ethics.

The two kinds of existences, Spiritual and Material, are not exclusive, but are the different manifestations of one thing. That one being infinite and omnipresent precludes the separate and independent existence of another thing. So it is the source of all things and must possess the seed of the essential qualities of all kinds of existences, a rudimentary consciousness as the essence of spiritual existence, and extension as that of material one. These various things evolve from that one through a process of Integration, the difference in the degree and mode of Integration determining the character of the thing evolved, two such varieties leading to material and spiritual things. Then individual souls also evolve through the same process of Integration occurring under different circumstances.

Integration is a kind of tension, a positive effort followed by disintegration or relaxation : now vice is a kind of Integration while virtue is the absence of the tension of that Integration. Thus in kindness and pity the Integration of anger and cruelty is absent. These disintegrating virtues tend to produce the characteristics of the primal substance which is the lightest and the most delicate substance with a rudimentary consciousness devoid of all appreciation of difference and opposites and so full of peace. That is why virtuous action makes us feel free, light, and peaceful.

These virtues naturally have a simplifying effect and so lead not only to the individual's peace and delight but

also to a simplicity and peace in social relations. This gives us a basis for virtues in the characteristics of the metaphysical Reality for they will be those with a disintegrating tendency as against the Integration and differentiation of the vices. Such a system would really be natural Dharma.

(40)

GUDHA LEKHYA

SECRET WRITING

R. SHAMA SATRY

(*Curator, Oriental Library and Director of Archæological Researches, Mysore*).

The date of the use of secret writing for purposes of espionage in India—Forms of secret writing—Its three most important varieties—The Durbodha Variety of Kauṭilya—Mūla-deva's device—The Gūḍhalekhya form—Examples—The Tāntric variety of secret writing devised for safeguarding Tantric secrets—The order of the development of the various forms of secret writing.

(41)

SOME HINDU FISCAL TERMS DISCUSSED

UPENDRANATH GHOSHAL, M.A., Ph.D.

(*Calcutta*).

Abstract:—The terms *bhāga*, *kara*, *bali*, *Sulka*, *avakraya*, *pratikara*, etc., are mentioned more or less frequently in the ancient literary and epigraphic records. They are frequently confounded with one another in the Sanskrit lexicographies and their meaning is not sufficiently distinguished even by modern interpreters of the old texts and inscriptions. In the present paper an attempt is made to fix their precise signification by a reference to the best original authorities.

THE PANCHĀNGA

GORAKH PRASAD, D.SC.

The paper begins with the degree of accuracy required in the Panchānga for the various uses to which it is put by astronomers, surveyors, navigators, meteorologists, astrologers, priests and the common people. The Panchāngas based on the ancient astronomical treatises fail miserably for almost all the above purposes. The methods of these treatises gave accurate results when they were composed, but the lapse of time, coupled with the indolence of later Indian astronomers in taking observations, together with their reverence for ancient authorities, has introduced errors of considerable magnitude. There is urgent need of reform. The objection of people based on sentimental or semi-religious grounds, when thoroughly examined is found to be of little importance. Reforms on similar lines were carried out in the past also. There is a curious theory advocated by a section of modern Indian astronomers that only such corrections should be made as are required to bring predictions regarding "visible" phenomena, *e.g.*, eclipses into agreement with observed facts, and that invisible phenomena, *e.g.*, *tithis* should be calculated according to the old methods. But the "invisible" phenomena really depend upon things that are *visible*, *e.g.*, the *tithis* depend upon the positions of the sun and the moon. In fact, if we make the positions of the heavenly bodies accurate, all the other items of the Panchānga will become accurate automatically.

The reform advocated by the Europeans and Americans for their own calendar is a different thing altogether. They want such a reform purely for the sake of convenience. For example, they desire that the dates every year should fall on the same days of the week, the month should be of equal length, the months or at least the quarters of the year

should begin on the same day and so on. But the reform required for the Indian Panchāṅga is not a convenience but a necessity.

The rest of the paper deals with more or less technical matters, showing in detail how reform could be carried out in practice.

(43)

ASTRO-THEOLOGY OF THE HINDUS

OR

THE LOGOS OF THE SOLAR SYSTEM

R. N. SAHA

(Benares).

The Hindus see divinity at back of almost every phenomena of nature evolved from their astronomical studies. Brahmā, the Supreme Deity is daily worshipped as Sun through Gāyatrī or the Vedic prayer to the sun. Astronomy, the first born of the natural sciences, had its origin from the worship of the Vedic gods, Devatās or Vighrahas of planets. Astronomy is called the Eye of Veda. The Sun, Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, Graha-rāja or the Godhead of the sky is the teacher of sight and form or number. It is he who helps us to gain into the logos of the solar system. The Sun taught Vedas to Yājñavalkya, and to Maya the system of the planets. The planetary beings are called Devatās that have the power of producing Trigūṇas—Nāda, Jyoti and Gati or heat, light and motion. The Nakṣatras are the abodes of the gods or Devatās. Devatā means a Dravya or Vighraha, a planet or a star. All light and all heat are the manifestation of the power of the great god or “our Father which art in Heaven.” We worship the Supreme Being through his great and glorious manifestation—the planet Sun. The Veda is called Brāhmī or Bhārati as the wife of Brahmā—the Rising Sun.

There is a reference to the stellar bull of the luni-solar zodiac of Śiva in the Ṛgveda (IV, 58,3). With the new evidences of archæology and paleography we can see that the sun, the moon and the five planets (whether belonging to Pañca Devatās, Nava Grahas, Sapta Ṛṣis or Daśa Dik-pālas) were worshipped as emblems of divinity by all the great nations of the past.

We see that the Indo-Arabs as all other branches of the Āryan and Semetic stock studied with success astronomy or the motions of the heavenly bodies as the logos of the solar system (science of form), conceived grammar as a science of logos or the Omkāra sound and meditated upon the Vedāntic Sāṃkhya philosophy as the Kula-kunḍalinī logos or the science of numbers.

Again and again it has been tacitly assumed by early Western scholars that India obtained her letters of the alphabet from abroad, her sculpture, architecture and art of coinage from the Greeco-Persian models, her astronomy from the Greeks or the Romans. Such popular errors are being refuted by modern scholars. The Vedas, Purāṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata are all storehouses of astronomical myths or phenomena observed by the Hindus.

The symbols of the religions of to-day show that there are neither two creeds, nor three nor four. Thus the fundamental truths of religion and philosophy of the ancients have not passed away as the study of the comparative history and philosophy amply testify. The effects of modern discoveries and new evidences only strengthen our belief that like the four-footed cow of Dharma, the four oriental creeds, viz., Brahmanism, Buddhism, Christianity and Mahometanism based upon the Unity of Godhead and the Unity of Symbolism shall not pass away to give place to a new religion.

LAND-MARKS IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE VEDĀNTA-SŪTRAS

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTĀCHĀRJEE

(*Dacca University*).

1. There are certain facts which support the hypothesis that all the existing Sūtras of the Vedānta were not the product of one hand.

(i) In the first place, we find a difference among the various commentators as to the reading of a Sūtra and also as to the total number of the Sūtras. Sometimes a Sūtra is found in the recension of one school but is wanting in another. And sometimes Sūtras read as distinct by one commentator, are united as one by another.

(ii) In the second place, between one system of philosophy and another—between the Vedānta and the Sāṅkhya, for instance,—Sūtras are found to be common. This suggests the possibility of the migration of Sūtras from one system to another.

2. If, therefore, the Sūtras of the Vedānta have grown gradually, what are the Sūtras that were later additions?

The Sūtras that bear Bādarāyaṇa's own name, seem to be a later growth. For, it is not usual for a man to take his own name in this way.

3. The Sūtras bearing Jaimini's name appear to be another group of accretive Sūtras. For, Jaimini is said to have been Bādarāyaṇa's pupil and it is not likely that he should have been quoted by Bādarāyaṇa.

4. There are a few other Sūtras which contain a few other names. They also seem to be later additions; and for similar reasons. They are not very important for the system either.

5. The Sūtras which attack other systems, specially the Sāṅkhya, also may be looked upon as later accretions. For, refutation of rival systems of thought is part of expository treatises of any system, rather than of Sūtras of the same. Besides, the intermittent character of the attack on the Sāṅkhya, is a special reason for suspecting the corresponding Sūtras as later additions.

6. There are some Sūtras which repeat or only amplify earlier Sūtras in the system. That also is a function of expository treatises; and these Sūtras also may be suspected as having come into being later.

7. As the Sāṅkhya-pravacana Sūtras arose, according to Vijñānabhikṣu and others, out of the Sūtras of the Tattvasamāsa, so the Sūtras of the Vedānta also may have risen out of a much smaller nucleus of Sūtras. This original compendium may yet be discovered, if the Sūtras which may reasonably be considered to have been added later, are left out.

(45)

SANKARA'S DOCTRINE OF MĀYĀ

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

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(1) The relation of the world as effect to Brahma as cause is one of Viśeṣa to Sāmānya. The Sāmānya is not a mere collection of parts, but a unity having a substantial reality of its own. The Sāmānya, therefore, includes its Viśeṣas, but does not negate them. The Viśeṣas, cannot, therefore be *separated* from the Sāmānya.

(2) The world of effects is *anirvacaniya*—neither *sat* nor *asat*. It points to the relative reality of the effects and not their total unreality. Although the effects are somewhat distinct—*विलक्षण*—from the cause, yet in reality they must be regarded as *ananya*—not *अन्य*, not *other*.

(3) It is our Avidyā which sees absolute distinction between Brahma and the world. But in reality, the world is not a separate entity. In appearing as its other, the causal reality does not lose its own nature and becomes something else.

(4) Ordinary view sees only the Vikāras in succession and a causal law governing them. But the true view is that which goes deeper and discovers the underlying reality which binds the Vikāras.

(5) To call the world to be unreal is to place it *outside* of Brahma, which would make the Infinite finitised. The finite world is not separated from Brahma, but *included* in it.

(46)

ELEMENTS OF REALISM AND IDEALISM IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF SHANKARĀCHĀRYA

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.

1. Introductory.
2. Realism and Idealism.
3. New Realism and New Idealism, Russell, Croce, James, and Bergson.
4. Sri Śankarāchārya's Doctrine.

Analysis

Sri Śankarāchārya is the Mount Kailasa of Indian thought. Realism affirms the real existence of the manifoldness of things outside ourselves. Idealism asserts that we can never affirm the existence of things apart from our sensations of them and that it is only in respect of ideas that we can affirm reality. The new Realists like Russell and the new Idealists like Croce try to analyse things in new ways, but there are many difficulties in the way of accepting their views and the views of James and Bergson. Sri Sankara's doctrine of three

kinds of reality and his concept of Māyā enables him to avoid the pitfalls of realism and idealism. He affirms the objectivity (वस्तु तन्त्र) of what is apprehended in external perception and yet shows how in the state of Ātma Sāhstakara we reach a state which is beyond the dichotomy of subject and object and is pure Sachidānanda.

(47)

ŚRIBHĀṢYA—A STUDY

ASHOKANATH BHATṬĀCHĀRYA, B.A.

(Calcutta).

Of all the schools of the Vedānta system of Indian Philosophy, the Rāmānuja School is one of the most important, and as such deserves a critical study.

(1) BENEDICTORY VERSES

It may be pointed out, at the outset, that the two benedictory verses—

“अखिलभुवनजन्मस्थेमभङ्गादिलीले ... ,” etc.,
and “पाराशर्यवचः सुधासुपनिषद्गुग्धाब्धिमध्योद्धताम् ... ,” etc.,

cannot be strictly included in the body of the Bhāṣya as they do not seem to be in conformity to the definition of Bhāṣya.

Benediction (as is popularly believed) does *not* hasten the unhindered completion of a work. For, Muktāvalī adds that completion depends on the capacity of the author, while benediction simply removes the obstacles in his path. And it would be almost sacrilegious to apprehend obstacles in the case of Rāmānuja.

Nor can we admit that it is benediction only that removes obstacles in every case. *Chanting* of standard auspicious hymns may also serve the same purpose.

Thus benediction cannot be indispensable as a part of Bhāṣya.

Further it may be added here that separate benediction is unnecessary. The words अथ and ब्रह्म are exceedingly auspicious (only by utterance) and serve our purpose more than enough.

Finally, it may be pointed out that benedictory verses are omitted in many an authoritative Bhāṣya like—(1) The Mahā-Bhāṣya, (2) The Nyāya-Bhāṣya, (3) The Śābara Bhāṣya, and last though not the least in (4) The Śāṅkara Bhāṣya.

Some contend that benediction is found in works like Bhāmatī and is, therefore, indispensable. The reply is that Bhāmatī is not an original Bhāṣya, but is a mere gloss on the Bhāṣya of Śāṅkara. If we are to place Śrī Bhāṣya on the same level with Bhāmatī, then Śrī Bhāṣya would no longer be recognised as an original Bhāṣya but only as a Tīkā.

Others argue that benediction is necessary to keep up the tradition. The Bhāṣyakāra might be a godly person, free from bondage; but his followers might not be so. So benediction would be indispensable in their case to remove *their* obstacles; and the Bhāṣyakāra simply teaches the same lesson by the inclusion of the benedictory verses in the Bhāṣya. But we think that he had better teach the lesson orally.

On the same ground we reject the two introductory lines—

“भगवद्बोधायनकृतां विस्तीर्णां ब्रह्मसूत्रवृत्तिं पूर्वाचार्याः संक्षिप्तपुः ।
तन्मतानुसारेण सूत्राचराणि व्याख्यास्यन्ते ।”

These may have some value from the historical point of view, but none as a part of the Bhāṣya.

(2) INTERPRETATION OF THE FIRST SŪTRA

The word अथ (then) means “coming immediately after” (अनन्तर्यार्थ) both in Śārīraka Bhāṣya and in Śrī Bhāṣya. अतःशब्द is also similarly explained in both.

Śāṅkara has established that “Enquiry into the nature of Brahman” (ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा) is subsequent to the acquisition of

the *four* Sādhana, while Rāmānuja (by the phrase **अधिगताह्वा स्थिरफल केवल कर्मज्ञानतया**) hints at the first Sādhana—**नित्यानित्यवस्तु-विवेक**, and (by the phrase **संजातमोक्षाभिलाषस्य**) at the last one—**सुसुबुध**. The other two Sādhana, though not mentioned in so many words by Rāmānuja, are to be inferred. So there seems to be little difference between the two great Bhāṣya-kāras on this particular point.

The followers of Rāmānuja contend that **ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा** is subsequent to a knowledge of ritualistic details (**कर्मस्वरूप**) together with a knowledge of their transitoriness (**कर्मफलानित्यत्व**).

But this sort of **कर्मविचार** is to be found nowhere; not surely in the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā of Jaimini; for, there only **कर्मस्वरूप** is described and not its transitory character: nor in Ch. 3, Pāda 4, of the **ब्रह्ममीमांसा** for, there only the transitory character of **कर्म** is described and not its **स्वरूप**.

To avoid this difficulty, the followers of Rāmānuja generally assert that the whole of the **पूर्वमीमांसा** is to be included in the fourth Pāda of the third Ch. of the **ब्रह्ममीमांसा** and the third Ch. of the **ब्रह्ममीमांसा** being the **साधनाध्याय** should have preceded the first Ch., to suit the context. But it is placed after (as it now is) for the sake of convenience (**प्रतिपत्तिसौकर्यलक्षणक्रमात्**).¹

This also gives rise to the celebrated **ऐकशास्त्र्य** theory—that Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṃsās are but two parts of the same system.²

(1) The main argument against the contention is that there is no authority to support this theory. On what grounds are we to include the whole of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā in the third Ch. of the Uttara-Mīmāṃsā, when neither Jaimini nor Bādarāyaṇa has framed any Sūtra to that effect?

(2) Rāmānuja himself states elsewhere³ that (a) with respect to householders only, **ब्रह्मविचार** is subsequent to **कर्मविचार**;

¹ Vide **श्रुतप्रकाशिका**, Edition of Śrīdharaśāchārya of **वन्द्यावन**, p. 79.

² For a full discussion of this theory, vide Introduction to the **Pūrva Mīmāṃsā** by Dr. Pashupatinath Shastri, pp. 40—42.

³ **Brahma Sūtra**: Śrī Bhāṣya—3. 4, 25-26.

(b) but, with respect to perpetual celibates, etc., ब्रह्मविचार is subsequent to the Sādhanaśam, दम, etc. So the knowledge of the sacred rites (as described by Jaimini) cannot be put forward as an indispensable preliminary to the knowledge of the Absolute. In that case, the self-contradiction on the part of Rāmānuja would be irreconcilable.

(3) Lastly, the Devatādhikaraṇa in the Uttara Mīmāṃsā then becomes unsupported. The injunction—"स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः"—enjoins us to take part in कर्मविचार. But this injunction cannot be extended to the case of the gods. So the gods are neither authorised to read the Vedas, nor to perform sacrifices. But still they have a right to take part in ब्रह्मविचार. If, therefore, कर्मविचार be taken as a *necessary* prelude to ब्रह्मविचार, the Devatādhikaraṇa in the Uttara Mīmāṃsā would fall to the ground. It is for this reason that Śaṅkara adds—

“धर्मजिज्ञासायाः प्रागप्यधीतवेदान्तस्य ब्रह्मजिज्ञासोपपत्तेः ।”

So the rise of the Viśiṣṭādvaita Bhāṣya is neither in accordance with the Brahmasūtras, nor is possible.

(48)

INTEGRAL VEDĀNTA

PT. G. KRISHNA SASTRI

(Poona).

The writer makes some preliminary observations on the spiritual heritage of Indians and of humanity in general and on Introspection—The different grades of spiritual life—General principles of Hinduism—The Hindu social and religious life and its significance—Jivas—A rectification of the Viśiṣṭādvaitavāda—Karman—The divine vision—The Siddhis and their limitations—The four grades of Divine worship—The Religious life and its stages—Cidrūpa-brahmavāda—The final goal of Sankhya-Yoga.

VṚTTIKĀRA-GRANTHA

GANGĀNATHA JHA.

There has been some confusion regarding the exact extent of the “*Vṛttikāragrantha*” introduced by Shabara on p. 7, line 18. This confusion has been due to the Editor of the *Bhāṣya* (Bib. Ind. Ed.), who puts the words “*Vṛttikāramatam samāptam*” (at the end of *Bhāṣya*, p. 18, line 6); and to the Editor of the *Shlokavārtika* who has put the words “*Vṛttikāragranthaḥ samāptaḥ*” at the end of 26 Kārikās.

As a matter of fact, the “*Vṛttikāragrantha*” starts with p. 7, line 18, and ends with the end of the *Bhāṣya* or Sūtra 5, p. 24, line 11.

That all this represents “*Vṛttikāragrantha*” is borne out by Maṇḍana Mishra who says in his *Mīmāṃsānukramanīkā*—

बह्वर्थं वक्तुकामेन तमर्थं सौत्रमिच्छता
वृत्तिकारमतेनेयं त्रिसूत्री वर्णयतेऽन्यथा

The “*bahu-artha*” spoken of here can only be all those philosophical topics that we find dealt with in the *Bhāṣya* (pp. 7 to 24). If it had referred only to what is said regarding the *Pratyakṣapramāṇa*, Maṇḍana Mishra could have had no justification in speaking of it as “*bahu-artha*,” “many topics.”—The so-called “*Vṛttikāramatam*” in the *Shloka-vārtika* also deals with a part of Sūtra 4 only; and if this was all that was meant by the *Vṛttikāra*, then the *Bhāṣya* would have introduced it after Sūtra 4 and not after Sūtra 5.

The interpretation of this *Vṛttikāragrantha*, according to this view, is as follows: Sūtra 3 puts forward the view that it is *not* necessary to carry on a detailed enquiry into the question of *Pramāṇa* for *Dharma*. [In this case a *na* has to be added to the Sūtra which necessity has led Prabhākara to the view that the *Bhāṣyakāra* is quoting the “*Vṛttikāramata*,” not with approval, but only as a view held by “others,” “*para-mata*”]; and the reason for this lies in

the fact that the exact nature of all *Pramāṇas*, including *Shabda* or *Chodanā* is already well known. Against this the opponent urges (Bhāṣya, p. 7, l. 21) that examination is necessary on account of the chances of error.—This objection is answered in the first half of Sūtra 4, where the right perceptual process is described (this is obtained by transposing सत् and तत्), and it is shown that perception by itself is never erroneous, and must be accepted as valid until we discover some defect in the process leading up to it. Similarly with Inference and the other forms of Cognition.—This goes on up to Bhāṣya, page 10, line 10.—The upshot of all this is that all cognition is inherently valid.—Next the opponent raises the objection against the *prāmāṇya* of *Shabda* specially (p. 10, l. 22). This objection—according to the *Vṛttikāra*—is embodied in the Second Part of Sūtra 5 ; and after a series of objections and counter-objections, the final conclusion on the point is stated on p. 18, l. 6.—The discussion regarding *Ātman* also arising out of what occurs in the *Vṛttikāramata*, this latter *mata* must be taken as extending up to the end of Sūtra 5 (page 24, line 11).

(50)

FORGOTTEN KARIKAS OF KUMĀRILA

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRY SIROMANI

(Baroda).

I presented a paper entitled “Kumārila and the *Brhaṭṭikā*” before the last Conference where, mainly from Prabhākara’s works, a few data were adduced to prove the authorship of Kumārila of a work called *Brhaṭṭikā*. In this short paper we propose to adduce some more data in support of the theory of the existence of an elaborate work of Kumārila called *Brhaṭṭikā* on the authority of the references to the Kārikās of Kumārila in Buddhist and Jain philosophical works. The

most important material to prove this theory, however, is furnished by the work entitled the *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarakṣita, a Buddhist scholar of the Nalanda University. This book will be published soon in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series along with the commentary of Kamalaśīla, a disciple of Śāntarakṣita.

From the Tibetan sources, it is known that Śāntarakṣita was born in Bengal while Gopāla, the first king of the Pāla dynasty, was ruling, and lived for about 57 years from 705—762 A.D. In the *Tattvasaṅgraha* Śāntarakṣita refuted all systems of philosophy expounded before his time in 27 *Parīkṣās* or examinations. For this purpose he adopted a procedure to quote the very *Kārikās* of his opponents, wherever possible, and to refute them. Among the authors quoted by Śāntarakṣita for the purpose of refutation Kumārila stands pre-eminent. Though the name of Kumārila was not mentioned by Śāntarakṣita while quoting his *Kārikās*, his direct disciple Kamalaśīla supplied this information while commenting on those *Kārikās*. Thus these two authors of the eighth century supply us with a number of *Kārikās* of Kumārila, in many places under the name of Kumārila himself. Among these *Kārikās* attributed to Kumārila only some are traceable to his three available works, but many are not so traceable. The untraceable *Kārikās* also are of two kinds. Some of them support the particular argument proposed in the *Ślokavārttika* giving some more necessary examples and explanations, while other *Kārikās* add some more reasons in order to refute the Buddhist's view in an elaborate discussion. It is also proved in this paper that Pārthasārathi Miśra, the commentator of Kumārila, cited the same arguments attributed to Kumārila in the *Tattvasaṅgraha* to explain the *Kārikās* of *Ślokavārttika*. In another place (पञ्चदोषेषु चान्यासामुदाहरणविस्तरः । Slo. Var., p. 452), Kumārila himself states that a lengthy statement of *Arthāpatti* with

many examples should be seen in *Pakṣadoṣa Prakaraṇa*. Here Pārthasārathi recommends us to refer to a work entitled the *Brhattīkā* where all examples of *Arthāpatti* are shown with the Kārikā श्रोत्रादिनास्तितायाम्—etc., in the beginning. We find this very Kārikā-श्रोत्रादिनास्तितायाम्—etc., in the *Śloka-vārttika* itself in the *Pakṣadoṣa Prakaraṇa* (p. 368), but not many examples of *Arthāpatti* as might have been expected. By this and by the Kārikās found in the *Tattvasaṅgraha* not traceable in Kumārila's available works we can easily conclude that Kumārila composed a lengthy work (probably *Brhattīkā*) where all sorts of *Arthāpatti* are stated in the same chapter where the first Kārikā is श्रोत्रादिनास्तितायां, etc., as we know from Pārthasārathi.

Among the 27 *Parīkṣās* in which the work *Tattvasaṅgraha* is divided the last three are on the subject of *Śrutiprāmāṇya*, *Svataḥprāmāṇya* and the *Sarvajña*. In these three Śāntarākṣita quotes Kumārila's Kārikās only for the purpose of refutation, but among them many are not traceable in the three available works of Kumārila. But these unknown Kārikās are intermingled with the Kārikās traceable in Kumārila's works. In the end of these *Parīkṣās* Kamalaśīla also attributes all these Kārikās to Kumārila by saying—एतावत्कुमारिलेनोक्तं पूर्वपक्षीकृतम् इदानीं सामट्यज्ञटयोः, etc. As the result of an extensive search in the Jain literature these untraceable Kārikās, supposed to belong to a work of Kumārila, are identified as of Kumārila because the references in Jain works introduce the Kārikās as—तदुक्तं कुमारिलेन, भट्टेन, वार्तिककृता. These Jain authors also flourished in the philosophical field close after Kumārila from 800—1100 A.D., and their authority is not questionable. The following Jain authors quote the Kārikās of Kumārila under his name and those Kārikās also are found in the *Tattvasaṅgraha* where the views of Kumārila are stated though they are not traceable to *Śloka-vārttika*.

(1) Vidyānanda or Pātrakeśarisvāmin, author of Āpta Mīmāṃsa, Aṣṭasāhasrī, etc., who was praised in the Jain Ādipurāṇa date and who quoted the *Brhadāraṇyakavārttika* of Sureśvara about 800 A.D.

(2) Abhayadevasūri the author of *Sammattitarkatikā* (published by the Gujarat Puratattvamandir at Ahmedabad) who flourished in the second half of the 10th century.

(3) Jineśvarasūri the brother of Buddhishāgara and a contemporary of the king Durlabhadeva at Pattan whose work was composed in 1024 A.D. In his work *Pramālakṣaṇa* he quoted a number of Kumārila's Kārikās which are not found in the *Ślokavārttika*.

(4) Laghusamantabhadra the author of a commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrī* of Vidyānanda. He flourished in about 1000 A.D. He also attributes some Kārikās to Kumārila, but they are not found in the *Ślokavārttika*.

(5) Vādidevasūri author of *Syādvādaratnākara* and a commentary on the same work; he also flourished about 1050 A.D.

On the testimony of these Jain scholars to a number of Kumārila's Kārikās not traceable in the available works of Kumārila, and by the quotations from Kumārila's works in the *Tattvasaṅgraha* it can be proved here with certainty that Kumārila had written one more extensive work besides the three now available, and this very likely is represented by the *Brhattikā*.

(51)

CORPOREAL GOD

JANAKI BALLABHA BHATTACHARYYA, B.A.

Mādhva School teaches the doctrine that God has a body. Vyāsarāja Swamin in Nyāyāmṛta supports this view. This view has been criticised and refuted by Madhusūdana

Saraswati in his Advaitasiddhi. But the view of Advaitasiddhi has again been successfully refuted.

This paper shows by inferences and the evidence of the authorities that God has a body which is not different from him just as a serpent has a coil though the coil is nothing different from him.

Some of the inferences are :

All creators have body, God is the creator,
therefore God has body.

All rulers of the world have body, God is the ruler
of the world,

therefore He has body.

The Vedas have been taught by our preceptors ; there must have been some preceptor in the beginning to teach the Vedas.

Some evidence : आदित्यवर्णं तमसः परस्ताद् । सहस्रशीर्षां पुरुषः ।

This body of God is imperishable and not subject to pain. Every body is not perceived by us and so God's also is not. Just as a Yogin can conceal his body, God conceals his own. A seer of mantra can, however, see it.

“ Thus the view of corporeal God is well established. ”

(52)

VINDHYAVASIN

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Vindhyavāsin is referred to and criticised by the ancient writers Vasubandhu (A.D. 280—360), Paramārtha (499—569 A.D.), Kumārila (A.D. 620—680), Śāntarakṣita (705—762 A.D.), Bhoja (8th century, Vāchaspati Miśra (Cir. 841 A.D.), Haribhadrāsūri II (Cir. V. S. 835), Guṇaratnasūri (V.S. 1466) and probably by many others. He

appears from these notices to be an influential Sāṃkhya teacher who deviated in many respects from the views held by the orthodox Sāṃkhya adherents. From Paramārtha's account of Vasubandhu we come to know that Vindhyavāsin was an elder contemporary of Vasubandhu and was victorious in a dispute with Buddhamitra, the Guru of Vasubandhu, and obtained a reward of three lacs of gold from the then reigning king Bālāditya Vikramāditya. We further learn that Vindhyavāsin was a pupil of Vṛṣagana (probably Vārṣaganya) and composed a new Sāṃkhya Śāstra which was mercilessly criticised by Vasubandhu in his now lost work *Paramārthasaptati* (from which the only quotation hitherto found has been mentioned in this paper). Vasubandhu tried to take revenge on Vindhyavāsin for the defeat of his Guru by personally holding discussions with him, and though he searched for Vindhyavāsin in the Vindhya regions he was not successful in finding him out as he was dead already. In his rage he could do nothing better than to compose a work refuting the new Śāstra of Vindhyavāsin, and it is claimed by Paramārtha that by this new work the Sāṃkhya doctrines were all destroyed.

Some scholars have attempted to identify Vindhyavāsin with Íśvarakṛṣṇa, but as they held diametrically opposite views this identification is hardly tenable. On the question of the existence of a subtle body between death and the next birth Vindhyavāsin held that no such subtle body can exist as there is no proof; but Íśvarakṛṣṇa, on the contrary, has devoted no less than three stanzas to prove that a subtle body exists between death and the next birth. On the question of inference also they differ. Íśvarakṛṣṇa admits three kinds of inference while Vindhyavāsin appears to admit only two : Sāmānyatodrṣṭa and Viśeṣatodrṣṭa. Again with reference to sound Vindhyavāsin held that it has only the sameness of form (or Sārūpya), whereas the orthodox Sāṃkhya opinion is that sound like all other manifestations

of Prakṛti is endowed with the three qualities, Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. With reference to *Bhoga* or the enjoyment of the Puruṣa Vindhyavâsin held that the *Buddhi* by its own reflections on the Puruṣa makes him enjoy, just as a Sphaṭika (crystal) turns black or blue when it comes in contact with the reflections of the different gems. The orthodox Sâṃkhya doctrine as propounded by Asuri is that the enjoyment of the Puruṣa is nothing but the reflection of the Puruṣa in the *Buddhi* just as the reflection of the Moon in clear water. Íśvarakṛṣṇa of course represents the orthodox view of the *Saṣṭitantra*, and because Vindhyavâsin's opinions are diametrically opposed to the orthodox Sâṃkhya views, the identification of Vindhyavâsin with Íśvarakṛṣṇa is untenable.

Some other scholars attempted to identify Vindhyavâsin with the Grammarian Vyâdi because the Koṣas of Hemachandra and Keśava give these two names as synonymous. But as Vindhyavâsin was a contemporary of Vasubandhu, his time cannot be so early as that. Vyâdi was fully utilised by Patañjali who being a contemporary of Puṣyamitra must have flourished in the second century B.C. Moreover Paramârtha being an earlier authority than both Hemachandra and Keśava we have to rely more on his words than any other's to decide this question. The identification of Vyâdi with Vindhyavâsin, therefore, does not stand to reason.

Vindhyavâsin's time is dependent on the time of Vasubandhu. About Vasubandhu's time scholars are still divided in their opinion, but there are two most popular theories: one placing him between 420—500 and another between 280—360 A.D. The most important argument in favour of bringing Vasubandhu to the fifth century being refuted in the following manner we are more in favour of accepting the other date.

The most important argument in favour of placing Vasubandhu in the 5th century is that Saṅghabhadra, a

contemporary of his, translated two Sanskrit works into Chinese in the years 488 and 489 A.D. respectively. But if we refer to Hiuen Thsang's account we find that Saṅghabhadra who was a Vaibhāṣika became so enraged after perusing the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu that he applied himself to the most profound researches for not less than twelve years and composed an elaborate refutation of Vasubandhu's views in his *Nyāyānusārasūtra*. After the composition was over he gave a challenge to Vasubandhu for a discussion which, however, never took place as Saṅghabhadra died in the meantime. This happened before Vasubandhu's conversion to Asaṅga's Yogācāra which must have taken place at least ten years before his death because Vasubandhu after his conversion wrote a large number of Mahāyāna works. If Vasubandhu's conversion takes place in 490 A.D. there remains hardly any time for Saṅghabhadra to give a challenge because he must be in China at this time engaged in translating Sanskrit books into Chinese. Saṅghabhadra can neither finish up the controversy before because he must die as soon as the talk of controversy is over, nor can he do so after returning from China because he has to read *Abhidharmakośa* and spend 12 years in composing his epoch-making work before giving a challenge to Vasubandhu because Vasubandhu must die in 500 A.D., if not earlier. Hence the conclusion is irresistible that there were two Saṅghabhadras, one a contemporary of Vasubandhu and another the translator in Chinese. These two performed different functions which cannot reasonably be discharged by one single man. Moreover, had this been a fact Hiuen Thsang, accurate as he is, would not have failed to give this information.

Among the two theories about the date of Vasubandhu one being refuted we take the other theory placing him between A.D. 280—360 as certain. That being so, to fix Vindhyavāsin's time becomes quite easy. Vindhyavāsin

was a contemporary of Vasubandhu's Guru, Buddhāmītra, who still survived when Vindhyavāsin died. Let us take Buddhāmītra as 20 years senior to Vasubandhu and fix his time as 260—320 A.D., and Vindhyavāsin as 10 years senior to Buddhāmītra and fix his time as 250—310 A.D. with some degree of confidence. Of course, we cannot assign a life period of 80 years either to Vindhyavāsin or Buddhāmītra in the absence of definite record; Vasubandhu, however, lived for eighty years as we know from Paramārtha.

Iśvarakṛṣṇa is believed to be one of the earliest authorities on Sāṃkhya besides the semi-legendary Ṛṣis Kapila, Āsuri, Pañcaśikha, Bhārgava, Uluka, Vālmīki, Devala, etc. There are still scholars to maintain that Iśvarakṛṣṇa was earlier than Vindhyavāsin but this does not seem to be a fact. Vasubandhu criticises the views of Vindhyavāsin as well as of the followers of Vārṣaganya but he does not speak a word about Iśvarakṛṣṇa though Vātsyāyana is criticised by him. Iśvarakṛṣṇa is indebted to Vātsyāyana and is first criticised by Diñnāga, a disciple of Vasubandhu. In Tibetan records we read that Iśvarakṛṣṇa was a contemporary of Diñnāga and that Diñnāga defeated Iśvarakṛṣṇa in a discussion. Hence we may safely conclude that Vindhyavāsin was an earlier authority on Sāṃkhya than Iśvarakṛṣṇa. And because Iśvarakṛṣṇa was disgusted with the quarrels between Vasubandhu and Vindhyavāsin he created a *Śāstra* which was based on the orthodox doctrines of the *Śaṣṭitantra* which was devoid of all controversial matters.

(53)

PRAKRITI AS ENERGY

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Definitions of Prakṛiti to show that it is the triad of Guṇas in the state of equilibrium and hence the Guṇas are not the properties of the original matter.

The doctrine of the duality of energy and matter rejected and the implications of the doctrine of Prakriti as energy stated.

The psychical equipment of sentient beings is a form of energy and so is matter a mode of energy.

All the psychical and material modifications of the inner and outer worlds are to be traced down to Prakriti.

The doctrine of the convertibility of human energy and physical forces.

The explanation of the physical attributes of the Guṇas as rest, motion and inertia.

Summary of the doctrine that the Sankhyan Prakriti is nothing but energy in psychical and physical forms and that after a long process it gives rise to matter.

(54)

WHAT WERE THE METHODS ADOPTED BY THE ANCIENT INDIAN THINKERS TO ARRIVE AT THE TRUTH ?

BADRI NATH SHASTRI

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1. Difference about the number of Pramaṇās—The most important, perception, influence and testimony—All agree on the first and this is the last source—Perception of two kinds, *Laukika* and *Alaukika*—Certain things cannot be perceived except through the latter—The Yoga system lays down the way of *Alaukika* perception—The higher truths cannot be learnt by our ordinary means and hence the necessity of Yogic perception—Yoga defined—The five *Vṛttis* and how they are suppressed—Hathayoga and Rājayoga and their use—The discipline of the Yogin—The eight accessories of Yoga and their descriptions—Who is entitled for Rājayoga—The Chakras and the rousing of the Sushumna—The eight

Siddhis—R̥tambharā prajñā—How nescience is removed and spiritual perfection attained—The light that is thus obtained.

(55)

THE GROUND OF INDUCTION IN INDIAN LOGIC

1. The nature and structure of inference in Indian Logic. It is neither purely deductive nor purely inductive. It rests upon the establishment of universal real proposition called Vyāpti or invariable concomitance. There can be no inference without a Vyāpti. Keith's view that Gautama knew no formulation of a general rule and consequently all reasoning for him was from particular to particular, briefly examined and criticized.

2. The Charavaka's objection to the validity of the Vyāpti. It is an accidental relation—mere association, which bring no necessary or rational connexion, cannot lead to Vyāpti.

3. The Buddhistic rejoinder : a Universal proposition has its basis in Identity, causality, or negation. The view of Diñnāga and Dharmakīrti, which is in conformity with the principles of the Yogācāra School to which they belong.

4. Criticisms of the Buddhistic position by Uddyotakara and Vāchaspati Misra : the Buddhistic theory does not cover all the grounds of Induction. Instances of Vyāpti, which are neither based upon identity nor upon causality. The Vyāpti is not an *ideal construction* but a *natural, unconditional, invariable* relation. Hints on the same subject from the writings of the later Naiyāyikas.

5. The Vyāpti not being an *enumerative proposition*, mere accumulation of observations is useless. The various meanings of Bhuyodarśana. Its detailed criticisms by

Prabhākara Miṣra. It cannot directly or indirectly give us the Vyāpti as it possesses neither Kāraṇattva nor Prayojakattva.

Prabhākara's own view : all that is needed for the appearance of inferential cognition is supplied by sensuous perception.

6. Criticism of his view by Gaṅgeṣopādhyāya. His own conclusion. The views of Udayanāchārya and Gaṅgeṣopādhyāya on the nature of Samānyalakṣaṇa Pratyāsatti.

7. *Results summarized :*

The basis of inference is Vyāpti. It is not an accidental relation, but a universal, real relation—one of invariable and unconditional concomitance, based upon the Unity of Nature (स्वभाविक सम्बन्ध-स्वाभाव प्रतिबन्ध). The Buddhist theory that it is ultimately a relation of identity or causality does not exhaust all the grounds of induction.

The Vyāpti is not *enumerative* in its essence and so the mere repetition of particular instances is of no scientific value. A single instance may be sufficient to yield a valid Vyāpti.

SANSĀRA

OR

BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY OF BIRTH AND DEATH

BHIKKHU NĀRADA

(*Vajirārama, Bamvalapitiya*).

The constant succession of birth and death in connection with each individual life-flux constitutes what is known as Sansāra (together-wanderings). Its rendering "metempsychosis" is misleading because it implies a transmigration of some *thing*, because there is no *goer* but a mere *going*.

What is the absolute beginning of Sansāra—*i.e.*, what is the primal original of life? The Indian Rishis have deduced all their facts from an unwarranted hypothesis of an imaginary “self” and conclude that life has its origin from *Paramātmā*. Christianity also professes to give an explanation which, to agree with Schopenhauer, is absurd. Science steps in, but her explanation that life has had a beginning in the infinite past and that man is evolved from the ground ape, though useful to those who believe in an omnipotent God, is childish. The question probably will never have the expected satisfactory answer.

Buddhism interposes and says that Sansāra is without beginning and end. Life is a flux or force like electricity or gravitation and, as such, it necessitates a beginningless past. Death and suffering are inevitable. Seek the cause of this “faring on” and utilise all your energy to transfer this life-stream to the unchangeable, unconditioned state, the Nibbāna.

To one who loves to speculate these words are of no avail, but it makes a great difference to the sorrow-afflicted for whom the Dhamma is meant.

Accordingly Buddhism takes the *being as he is* as the starting point and traces back the causes of his conditioned existence. All men are composed of inter-related mind and matter (*Nāma* and *Rūpa*) which constantly change, not remaining the same even for two seconds. Though all are identical inasmuch as they all possess two common factors (mind and matter) yet they are all varied. Though heredity and environment are partly responsible for this variation, they cannot be solely responsible for it. The foetus has two cells sperm and ovum. Are they the only materials for the production of foetus? No. Buddhism has a *third element*—*Paṭisandhi-viññāna* (linking consciousness). Buddha comprehends the root of this third element as well—it is the result of an all-ruling force, *viz.*,

kamma. This only can explain the difference between twins. *Avijjā* is the cause of birth and death and *Vijjā* of their cessation. The first set of five causes produces the second set of effects which again bring about the first five—thus ad infinitum.

Death due to following causes : (1) exhaustion of the force of reproduction, (2) expiration of life born, (3) combination of both the above, (4) action of a stronger *kamma*. There are four modes of birth—egg-born, etc.

Darwin's theory of evolution finds no place in Buddhism.

In all of us there lies five natures—divine, human, brutal, ghostly and hellish.

Just as kammic descent is possible similarly kammic ascent.

To a dying man is presented a *kamma nimitta* or *gati nimitta*. Death is the temporal end of a temporal phenomenon.

The process of rebirth and death ever occurs as long as the inexorable law of *kamma* prevails.

(56)

ORIGIN OF THE MAHAYANA BUDDHISM AND ORIGINAL HOME OF THE MAHAYANA SŪTRAS

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Differentiation between Mahāyana Sūtra and Mahāyana School—Mahāyana Sūtras formed by Mahāsaṅghikas penetrating into Buddha's ontological ideas—Insipient existence of the same during Buddha's lifetime—Formation of the Mahāyana Schools on the basis of Mahāyana Sūtras. Three Schools of Mahāyana—(1) Madhyamika founded by

Nagarjuna in Andhra country, and (2) Yogachara founded by Maitreyanath—contemporary of Nagarjuna near Ayodhya—only known to Brahmanical works; (3) unknown to Brahmanical works—founded by Asvaghosha II—may be named Bhutatathala School.

2. Mistaken view of the oriental and occidental scholars as to the origin of Mahāyana Buddhism—Nagarjuna, Maitreyanath, Asanga and Vasuvandhu—supposed founders of Mahāyana Buddhism—Really they are systematisers of Mahāyana Sūtras and founders of Mahayana Schools—Interesting evidences from Nagarjuna's works—His "Mahāyana Mahaprajnaparamita Sastra"—Commentary on "Mahaprajnaparamita Sūtra" contains 108 Buddhist Sūtras—Many of them are Mahāyana Sūtras—His another work Dasabhumī Vibhāṣa Sastra contains 34 Sūtras, many of them are Mahayanic—Clear proof of existence of Mahāyana Sūtras before Nagarjuna—Hence he cannot be called the founder of Mahāyana Buddhism—What about others?

3. Formation of the Mahāyana Sūtras during the period covering Vaisali Council (100 after Buddha) to the time of Nagarjuna—Mahasanghikas the framer of the Sūtras—Their supremacy in Madhyadesha during Maurya dynasty—Their decline, disintegration and complete exit from Madhyadesha through Pushyamitra—The Brahmanical king of Sunga dynasty to Andhra in one hand and Gandhara and Kashmere on the other. Hence the separation of the Madhyadeshik Mahasanghikas into Andhra Mahasanghikas and Gandhara Mahasanghikas—Former may be called Southern Mahasanghikas and the latter Northern Mahasanghikas.

Bank of Krishna the first original home of Mahāyana Buddhism, the centre of Andhra Mahasanghikas—Their manifestation of Buddha's ontological doctrine on the cosmic existence and its gradual development into Prajnaparamita Sūtras, etc.

Gandhara and Eastern Central Asia the second original home of Mahāyana Buddhism, the centre of Northern Mahasanghikas—Their manifestation of Buddha's ontological doctrine on human being (Buddhalogy) and its gradual development into Avatangsaka Sūtras, etc.

4. Differences between Southern Mahāyana Buddhism and Northern Mahāyana Buddhism—The former dealing with Mahayanic doctrine on cosmic existence and the latter dealing with Mahayanic doctrine on Human being or Buddhakaya doctrine.

(57)

THE CATUḤŚATAKA ŚĀSTRA OF ĀRYADEVA, CHAPTER VII

(A CONJECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN SANSKRIT FROM THE
TIBETAN VERSION)

PT. VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA
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Āryadeva is one of the greatest teachers of Buddhism and how deeply the people venerated him is clearly shown by the epithet *ācāryaprabhava* (Tib. *Slob. dpon*) used by such an author as Candrakīrti a great master of the *Prāsaṅgika* School and the celebrated writer of the Commentary, *Prasannapadā* on the *Mūlamadhyamakārikā* of Nāgārjuna. The most important work by Āryadeva is the *Catuḥśataka Śāstra* or *Catuḥśataka* as it is generally known. It is a treatise of the Mādhyamika School. As the name itself implies, it is composed of four hundred *kārikās* or verses divided into sixteen *prakaraṇas* or chapters, each of them consisting of twenty-five *kārikās*. Unfortunately the original Sanskrit text is not yet found in its entirety, the only remains being some fragments discovered and edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri, M.A., in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III, No. 8, pp. 449—514, to whom every lover of Philosophy is grateful. Candrakīrti

wrote a commentary on this work, but this too, in its original Sanskrit version, is perhaps lost for ever excepting the portion published with the text in the fragments referred to above.

Out of a total of 400 *kārikās* of the *Catuhśataka*, we have now only $131\frac{1}{4}$ in the fragments and $10\frac{1}{4}$ traced as quotations in *Prasannapadā* of Candrakīrti, i.e., $141\frac{1}{2}$ in all. Thus $258\frac{1}{2}$ *kārikās* are lost to us. And we should try to reconstruct them, if possible.

Now, the last eight chapters (IX—XVI) of the book were translated by Huentsang into Chinese and there is a commentary on these chapters by Dharmapāla. Prof. Dr. G. Tucci of the University of Rome (now in the Visva-bhārati at Santiniketan) has brought out an Italian translation of this Chinese Version together with the Chinese text.¹

The entire work together with a commentary by Candrakīrti is, however, to be found only in the Tibetan, the text and the commentary being translated into it by an Indian scholar Pandit Sūkṣmajñāna and a Tibetan scholar, Bhikṣu Sūryakīrti (*dge sloṅ ṅi ma grogs*).

In a volume² published in 1923 Prof. P. L. Vaidya of Willingdon College, Sangali (Bombay), has reconstructed in Sanskrit, the lost *kārikās* in chapters VIII—XVI, and translated them into French together with those found in the fragments and *Prasannapadā*. His work is, however, marred by many inaccuracies. The present writer has discussed it fully and has reconstructed again almost all the *kārikās* of chapters VIII—XVI. He thinks that it is only by much discussion that one may hope to get back some day the actual readings of the lost *kārikās*. The work is in the press.

¹ *Revista della studi Orientali*, Vol. X, pp. 521—590.

² *Etudes sur Āryadeva et son Catuhśataka*.

The only possible way for carrying on the work is to translate the book into Sanskrit mainly from Tibetan Version. Of course, the Chinese Version will help much. Scholars know how literal and in most cases faithful a Tibetan translation of a Sanskrit work is. Indeed, it is wonderful and the Tibetan translators have made the impossible possible in rendering Sanskrit books so faithfully and literally into a language which belongs to an entirely different family. Chinese translations are, however, not so accurate, for generally they are very figurative or explanatory, and as such cannot be relied upon so much as the Tibetan with regard to their power of suggesting the actual Sanskrit readings.

In the present paper I propose to reconstruct in Sanskrit the lost *kārikās* of the seventh chapter of the *Cātuḥśāta-kasāstra* from its Tibetan Version and to edit the full Tibetan text of that chapter together with all existing original *kārikās* giving copious extracts in Tibetan of *Candra-kīrti*'s commentary followed by its Sanskrit translation by me.

In preparing this edition I have used two xylographs of the Narthang edition belonging to the Visvabharati Library, one of the *Cātuḥśataka* itself and the other of the *Cātuḥśatakavṛtti* in which all the *kārikās* of the former are quoted in toto.

(58)

A SCHOOL OF SOUTH INDIAN BUDDHISM IN KĀNCHĪ

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Kānchī was a place of considerable importance, and was known as a South Indian city of very great importance even to Patanjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*. It is referred to in the so-called Śāngam literature of Tamil, and is even described somewhat elaborately in poems included in the

Śāṅgam collection. One such poem of great importance is Śīrupāṇāṇṇuppaḍai. At that period it was associated with a ruler known to the Tamils Tondamān Ilantiraiyan. On the evidence of that literature we have good reason to regard him as almost contemporary with Karikāla, the great Chola.

2. In the Pallava charters on copper plates, and, in connection with the early history of the Kaṇambas, the place figures as the *Ghaṭika* of the Brahmans and a great seat of learning. It maintained that position in historical times, as in the age of the great Pallavas, it was not merely a political centre, but was also regarded as a centre of learning. Both Bhāravi and Daṇḍin are believed to have lived in the court of the Pallavas, Simhavishṇu and Rājasimha respectively.

3. In Buddhist accounts, and sometimes even in Jaina tradition, the place figures also as a centre of Buddhism. This is in a way confirmed by what Hiuen T'sang notes in regard to the place. Among Buddhist celebrities Diṅnāga is regarded as a native of Kāñchī, as also later, Dharmapāla. There is some reason, therefore, to regard that Kāñchī was a great centre of Buddhism as well. The Tamil classic Maṇimēkhalai contains a detailed description of Kāñchī in one part of the work. It gives details of how it was regarded as a centre of Buddhism. It was the residence of the great teacher, Aṇavaṇa Aḍigal, who was held very high in public estimation as an orthodox Buddhist teacher and an authority in the subject.

4. Maṇimēkhalai, as a Buddhist novice, after having wandered over places in Ceylon, the Chola country, and the Chēra country, comes finally to Kāñchī to receive his teaching. She learnt the various systems of religious thought current at the time from authoritative votaries in the respective forms of religion at Vanji on the West coast. Not satisfied with all of them, she had to go to Kāñchī to receive the orthodox teaching of the Buddha from Aṇavaṇa Aḍigal. Aṇavaṇa Aḍigal put her first of all through the scheme of Buddhist

logic and led her on to accept what he delivered as the orthodox teaching of the Buddha. This strikes one as the Sau-trāntika form of Buddhism.

5. In the portion on Buddhist logic Aravaṇa Aḍigal seems to have laid emphasis on the fact that according to Buddhism, it is only two *pramāṇas* that are recognised as valid, *Praktyakṣa* and *Anumāna*; others are not valid according to him. This is generally recognised as the teaching of Dīṅnāga, which received elaboration from his commentator, Dharmakīrti. Dīṅnāga, as is recognised, must have flourished about A.D. 400, the same date as Kālidāsa's. Does Aravaṇa Aḍigal represent the previous school of Buddhism from which Dīṅnāga drew his inspiration? Very likely he did. This would depend to some extent upon the age of the Maṇimēkhalā as a poem.

6. Maṇimēkhalā is a continuation in its subject-matter of the story of the twin-epic, Śilappadhikāram-Maṇimēkhalai, and the two together were regarded by the authors as constituting one epic. The author of the work, Śittalai Śāttanār, a grain merchant of Madura, is among the Śāṅgam celebrities according to well-accredited literary tradition.

7. In the whole of the work there is no reference whatever either to the works, or to the teachings of Nāgārjuna or Dēva, the fourteenth and fifteenth patriarchs, though both of them lived just across in the Telugu country of the Sāta-vāhanas. Nor is there any reference to Buddha's teaching in Ceylon, though reference is certainly made to the Buddha seat in Maṇi-Pallavam and to the Buddhist holy place, Samantakūṭa.

8. In the chapters on the heretical systems, three schools of Mīmāṃsā are referred to, those of Vyāsa, Kṛtakôṭi and Jaimini. Of these the first and the last are well-known, but the middle one is not so well known by that name. It seems to be the name of the work rather than of the author, and is regarded as a commentary on the Mīmāṃsā as a whole

including the two divisions. According to Prapanchahr-daya that seems to be a work of Bôdhāyana, who seems to have been anterior to Upavarsha, Upavarsha himself being anterior to Gaudapātha. Kṛtakôṭi is not referred to in any later work, and is said to deal with the Mīmāṃsa as a single system, which is perhaps evidence of an early age.

9. Another point in regard to this is that the Ājīvakas are dealt with among the heretics as somewhat akin to and yet different from the Nirgranthas. In later ages in the Tamil country, the Ājīvakas are regarded almost as a section of the Jains.

10. The story is laid at Puhār (Kaveripattinam) at the mouth of the Kaveri, which was still the Chola capital, and in the course of the story, the city was destroyed by the sea. In the following periods, the Chola capital is generally spoken of as Uraiyūr near Trichinopoly, and not Kaveripattinam. This happens to be so even in some of the later Śāngam works.

11. The ruler contemporary with Maṇimēkhalai is said to have won a victory against the Chēra and the Pāṇḍya at a place called Kāriyār (River Kāri). This river can be identified with a stream flowing about ten miles south of Kālahasti through the railway station Sūlūr. There are traditions connected with the stream even now which are associated with the doings of Krishna, Kāri being the Tamil name for Krishna. There is a deep spot in the river which contains clear water all the year round, and is associated with Krishna's dancing over the great hood of Kālīya, and there are close to the river Śiva and Vishṇu temples, one of the latter going by the name Kariya-Māṇikka-Viṇṇahar. Kariya Māṇikka Perumāl is certainly a name for Krishna. In the Peria-purāṇam, Appar is described as travelling on foot from Tiruvālangāḍu to Kālahasti, and is said to have travelled long distances, crossing rivers and mountains and reaching Kālahasti, after having worshipped at another shrine at a place called Kārik-karai, which means a town or temple on the bank of the

river Kāri. The stream indicated would answer to this description admirably, and there are Śiva shrines close to the river which would correspond to this detail.

12. The advance of the Chēra and the Pāṇḍya as far north as this particular place would be possible at this time, when the ascendancy in the south was passing from the Chola to the Chēra, again on the evidence of Śāṅgam literature. An uncle of Śenguttuvan-Chēra, whose name figures prominently in the Śilappadhikāram, the other classic of the twins, advances the power of the Chēras across the whole country, and is said to have performed his ablution from the waters of both the seas on the same day. Śenguttuvan himself is said to have won a victory at a place called Nērivāyil near Uraiūr on behalf of one of the Chola princes as against his rivals. Taken together the inference seems warranted that the Chola ruler who fought a battle at the river Kāri described in Maṇimēkhala is contemporary with Maṇimēkhalai herself, and played an active part in the struggle against the advancing power of the Chēras. That would again indicate the first two centuries of the Christian era as the age of the Śāṅgam, and therefore, of that of Maṇimēkhala, and Aṛavaṇa Aḍigal. It seems, therefore, a justifiable inference that Aṛavaṇa Aḍigal was a predecessor of the Buddhist logician and divine, Dīḥṇāga, and the expounder of a system of logic associated with his name, which accepted only two *pramanas*.

(59)

THE CHĀRVĀKA SYSTEM

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Brhaspati is said to have founded the *Chārvāka* system. It is said that like other founders of philosophical systems, he had put his doctrines in *Sūtra* form. But these *Sūtras*,

if ever written, have not come down to us in the original form. What we have is some quotations here and there in works on other systems. A close study of the quoted passages and of the accounts in philosophical texts shows that the Chārvāka system is as consistent and well thought out as any other. The critics of the Chārvāka School have taken great pains over refuting its views and have in their zeal for the higher doctrines overlooked the value of this consistent and sensible system. Let us for a moment consider what position we human beings occupy. Do we not consciously or unconsciously abide by the laws of the Chārvāka system? Who can deny the pain felt in the body when he is pinched by a pin? Of course the spiritual side of life should not be denied. But could we neglect the material side? The Chārvāka's is just the stage to start with. There were various schools in this system. We find references to about four varieties. They are all self-consistent and they reveal a nice gradation. The critics of the Chārvākas have done them great injustice. Their attitude could be supported if it be accepted that they have only wanted to guide people to the philosophical views that their respective *adhikāras* demanded. But it is doubtful if the critics have always kept such ideas in mind.

(60)

ORIENTAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE LIGHT OF ART

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The curves of individual and racial temperaments and outlooks could best be studied through the confessions of Art, which register on the plane of the finite—The infinite as it reveals itself in humanity unfortunately in the study of

the thought-movements of the world, Art finds as yet to-day a very insignificant place ; its background has hardly been reconnoitred. Hence new facts have yet to come to light in the wake of such a revaluation. But thinkers in the East and West have to confess in elucidating aesthetic theories that Art is the surest index of what nations must have *really* thought and felt at different epochs of history. When people reason they are on their guard, but when they express themselves through their joyous moods in the realm of art they unfold their true selves. Thus properly approached Art furnishes the key to the most complicated problems of human thoughts and achievements. A great German—Herder—once said with reference to India—whose vast literature was practically confusing—that Europe could find better clue to Indian mind in the poetry of India rather than in the vast mass of conflicting religious literature ; for as he said, “it is here that the mind and character of a nation is best brought to life.” It is a remark of universal application. As such in the light of Art—a study of both the facts and philosophy of life of every nation could be effected ; it is yet to come.

So far as the Oriental world is concerned, such a study is supremely valuable ; for as in India, for instance, history is full of void periods and philosophy has hardly been studied here as a continuous growth through the chequered course of its tempting mosaic. The six systems of Indian philosophy live, move at almost every period of its history in uncertain flickers even till to-day, but are hardly estimated with reference to their new and fresh bearings at successive epochs. A new study is thus possible which would help in the elucidation of the history of Indian thought.

In India Pre-Buddhist Art had a strict reference to the pre-Buddhist philosophy which delighted in the exploration of the limits or boundaries of self or “*Ātman*.” The latter may easily be studied or tested in the light of the former.

The scant remains of plastic Art expose a exnscious effort to minimise its expansion and dry up the fountains of its inspiration. To find the infinite within the limits of the finite—and even within four corners of the “Self” sums up the prodigious attempt—unique in world’s history—to reduce the world to the central conception of “Ātman.” Plastic art shivered and could hardly flourish under conditions which reduced the world to such an indivisible unity. The expressions of Art reveal that the attempt was a logical feat which had hardly any bearings on the actualities of life and thought. But early Buddhist philosophy which threw to the limbo the doctrine of “Ātman” or “Soul” and hoisted the standard of a new philosophy which did not believe in a “soul” and which thus threw the pendulum of thought to the other extremity—is supposed to have ushered in a new horizon for the realisation of human aspirations. But a study of the art of the period reveals that it brought in no new solace and that in fact as is proved by the artistic remains that though seemingly apart and divergent both the pre-Buddhist and early Buddhist philosophy were purely intellectual systems and had many undiscovered and unknown common grounds. It was the advent of Mahāyāna thinking and the cult of *Bhakti*—both anti-intellectual systems—that ushered in the flow of a new luscious and abundant Art which reached its climax in the Tibeto-Tantra systems as expounded in *Sādharmālā*, for instance. It is significant that while under the auspices of early Buddhism the doctrine of Renunciation was being broadcasted with fanfare, the doctrine of Bhoga as well raised its head and *Vātsyāyana’s Kāma-Sūtra* of the period bears testimony to the fact. In fact “Logic” and “Life,” Intellect and Emotion often proceed in divergent ways from even a common roof and a glorification of austerities is often done through lavishly sensuous music or rhythm. It is not uncommon to find Artists and Poets singing of the varieties of life with the a music that adds new zest to life. In fact

the brilliant golden colour of the costumes of Buddhist monks proclaim and contradict the spirit of renunciation which they wanted it to symbolise. It was the underground protest of the human spirit. In fact not one of the sixty-four arts which *Asvaghosha* mentions in his *Sutrâṅkâra* could be crushed under the wheels of the Buddhist monastic codes.

As a matter of fact—as the artistic expressions would reveal—Buddhism as an intellectual system did not conquer the world so much with the rigour of its logic as with the help of treatises like the *Lotus Scripture* (*Saddharma Pundarik*) which influenced Japanese prophet like Nichiren. This is the reason why the later Buddhist Art was rich in expressive art and the earlier restrained and regulated like the pre-Buddhist Art. *Asânga's* philosophy was based on a conception of selflessness. *Gaudapâda* and the other intellectuals also practically brought in a similar interpretation of Vedanta and its doctrine of "Chitta-vritti-Nirodha."

In fact in India the doctrine of *Bhakti*, as propounded by seers like *Nârada* and *Sândilya*—through different garbs and conditions—as an anti-intellectual system unfolded the real conditions of self-effacement and surrender which make a rich art possible. *Zaoism* in China offered a similar atmosphere for the figuration of Chinese Art. In Japan the ideal of "Zen" system was almost identical. In the word of Dr. Suzuki its main object was to "abandon logic and reasoning and let intuition have fair play."

Thus in India, Japan and China it was a passivistic outlook of life and not a positivistic one or in other words, it was *Bhakti* and not *Yukti* cult that under different forms and circumstances contributed to the richness of artistic renaissance. Art thus throws new light on the meaning of speculative philosophy.

KAUṬILYA AND CĀNIKYA

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In discussing the question as to the time of the composition of the Arthaśāstra, a great deal of stress has been laid upon the spelling of the name of its reputed author, whether as Kauṭilya, with an *i* in the middle, or as Kauṭalya, with an *a* in the middle. Kauṭilya means crookedness or falsehood personified or Mr. Crooked (Winternitz) and is on a line with other nicknames quoted as Nīti authorities in the Arthaśāstra, such as Piśuna (Nārada), Viśālākṣa (Śiva), Bāhudantiputra (Indra), Kauṇapadanta (Bhīṣma), Vātavyādhi (Udbhava), Bhāradvāja (Droṇa), Kaṇīka Bhāradvāja (Kaṇīka), etc. Kauṭalya, on the other hand, is said to be derived from Kuṭala, and Kuṭala in Kośavasvāmin's Nānārthāṇava-saṃkṣepa is declared to be the name of a Gotra, also of an ornament. Its derivation from a Kuṭala Gotra has been adopted by Gaṇapati Śāstrī, who calls Kauṭilya a misnomer, a mistake handed down to us by scribes and readers.

Now manuscript authority is divided between the two readings and this division is reflected in the printed editions, the *ṛ* form appearing in the two Mysore editions of 1909 and 1919 and in the Lahore edition of 1923, whilst Gaṇapati Śāstrī has the same form up to p. 40 of his own edition in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (1924), and the *ṛ* form in the rest of the work. The same scholar has discussed the relative merits of both readings in the Introduction and Preface to the first and second volumes of this edition, from which discussion it appears that he has found the *ṛ* in all the five Mss. of the text only, and in four Mss. of three different commentaries which have been used for the Trivandrum edition. Against this rather formidable array of Mss. and commentaries, to which the Munich Ms. Nro.

335 (B) should be added, we may quote as representatives of the ढि form: (1) the Tanjore Ms. used as basis for Shamasastri's *editio princeps*; (2) the Munich Ms. Nro. 334, probably a transcript of Nro. 1, with which it closely agrees; (3) the Commentary of Bhaṭṭasvāmin, called Pratipadapañjikā, which has also been used for the Mysore edition, and is now being edited by K. P. Jayaswal for the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. It has the reading ढि thrice in one Chapter (II, 10, p. 16 of the printed text); (4) the Commentary of Mādhavayajvan called Nayacandrikā, as printed by Udayavīra Śāstrī in the Lahore edition, has ढि several times in the text (II, 70, 72, 91), and constantly in the colophons (नयचन्द्रिकायां कौटिलीयटीकायाम्).

Of Commentaries on other works than the Arthaśāstra, the standard Commentary of Śamkarāya on the Nītisāra, as printed by Gaṇapati Śāstrī himself, has कौटिल्य इति, कौटिल्यशास्त्रात् (I, 6,7) and कौटिल्येन (p. 65), कौटिलीये (pp. 157, 207, 236), कौटिल्याय (p. 226) and explains this name as referring to a Gotra (I,6). The Commentary printed in Rajendralal Mitra's edition of the Nītisāra has both Kauṭilya and Kauṭalya, also Kuṭala (Hillebrandt). Two commentators of Amarasimha's Amarakośa, Kṣirasvāmin and Sarvānanda, as quoted by Udayavīra Śāstrī in the Lahore edition, Vol. II, have the ढु form only, which is preferred by Udayavīra himself, though his edition of the Nayacandrikā has the ढि form, as pointed out before. Hemacandra's attitude is not clear, for though he certainly refers to the Ṛṣi Kuṭala (Uṇādiganasūtra, 468, ed. Kirste),¹ his references to Kauṭalya are doubtful, as the recent Bhavnagar edition of his Abhidhānacintāmaṇi-Commentary has ढि in six places against ढु in one place only, whereas Abhidhānacintāmaṇi itself has ढि in Bhavnagar edition (p. 140), but ढु in Böhlingk's edition and the Bombay edition of 1896.¹ The ढि form is also found

¹ Prof. Th. Zachariae.

in Mallinātha's Commentary, in two texts of Yādavaprakāśa and Bhojarāja, as quoted in Shamasastri's Preface of 1919, and in Nīlakaṇṭha's Commentary of the Mahābhārata and Cāritravardhana's Commentary of the Raghuvamśa, as quoted in K. Nag's *Théories diplomatiques*, p. 38 (1923). The Gaṇaratnamahodadhi (pp. 292, 293, 298, ed. Eggeling) has both Kuṭala, Kauṭalya and Kuṭila, Kauṭilya¹.

Of hitherto-printed works of fiction, the Purāṇas in their prophecies about the conqueror of the Nandas exhibit the टि form, and so does the Kādambarī in the severe criticism it passes on the cruel and wicked Kauṭilyaśāstram. In the field of the drama we find the Prastāvanā to the Mudrārākṣasa referring to Kauṭilya as meaning false-minded by its derivation from Kuṭila (कौटिल्यः कुटिलमतिः). Here the ट reading would be impossible. In the Buddhistic literature of Ceylon, there are two references to Kocalla which is apparently wrong for Koṭalla and an equivalent for Kauṭalya. This was pointed out to me by Prof. W. Geiger. One of the Jaina canonical books, the Nandī, mentions the Koṭillayam, i.e., Kauṭiliyam as a forbidden book, but another Jaina canonical book, the Anuyogadvārasūtram, quotes the Koḍallayam, i.e., Kauṭaliyam instead (A. Weber's Cat., II, 677—697).

It will appear from this collection of references, incomplete as it is, that both forms are ancient and well established. As regards their relative value, it cannot be doubted that the contents of the Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra fully bear out its ascription to a minister surnamed Mr. Crooked, if we consider all the duplicity and falsehood enjoined or countenanced in it. The transformation of this ominous name into the innocent name Kauṭalya, and the invention of a Gotra called Kuṭala, may be due to those who wished to do away with the reproach naturally adhering to a work which though

¹ Prof. Th. Zachariae.

² Edited by Nāthurāma Premī, Bombay, 1923.

excellent in its way was fathered on an author of avowedly loose principles. If Kauṭalya was the original name, for which Kauṭīlya was substituted by popular etymology, we obtain an indifferent designation of uncertain origin and import for a highly characteristic one, which moreover is quite in keeping with the other characteristic nicknames of writers quoted as authorities on Nīti in the Arthaśāstra.¹

The bearing of these facts on the question of the authenticity of the Arthaśāstra needs no pointing out. Is it likely, says Prof. Winternitz, that Candragūpta's minister should have called himself Mr. Crooked or *Crookedness* personified? I doubt it. The name of Kauṭīlya, declares Prof. Keith, is suspicious, and it seems a curious name for him to bear in his own work.

The evidence in favour of the *ṛ* form may be strengthened perhaps by considering an analogous interchange between *i* and *a* forms existing in the case of Cāṇakya, Kauṭīlya's other name. The *i* form (Cāṇīkya) in this case, it is true, is only found in four passages of the recently published old Commentary of Somadeva's Nītivākyāṃṛatam.² In the first passage Cāṇīkya is identified with Viṣṇugupta of the text (p. 107). In the three other passages Cāṇīkya is quoted as the author of certain Nīti texts hitherto unknown (pp. 131, 149, 286). This Commentary abounds in citations of old and little known Nīti writers, and its antiquity is moreover guaranteed by the existence of a fifteenth century copy. It does not matter that Somadeva himself writes Cāṇakya, with an *a* in the middle (p. 177). It may be that Cāṇīkya *alias* Cāṇakya, is identical with, or rather a patronimic derivation from, the wise minister Kaṇika of the Mahābhārata, which identification has been proposed simultaneously by Professor Winternitz in his History of Indian Literature, III, 135, and by Kalidas Nag in his Théories diplomatiques

¹ See V. Kane, The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭīlya, in Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1925, p. 9.

² Edited by Nāthurāma Premī, Bombay, 1923.

de l'Inde ancienne, where he has extracted from the Great Epic an entire Kaṇika-Nīti closely resembling the doctrines of the Arthaśāstra, even to the use of the same technical terms, such as the 18 *Tirthas*.

Cāṇikya-Cāṇakya might be a legendary personage altogether, formed upon the model of the astute Kaṇika of the Epic.

In spite of the fabulous character of its author, the Arthaśāstra contains some very ancient elements which are traceable to the Aśoka Inscriptions even. This was pointed out by such scholars as Dr. F. W. Thomas, Professor Hultzsch and others, but it does not seem to have been noticed that the list of specially protected animals in the slaughter-house Chapter of the Arthaśāstra (2, 26) has a counterpart in the inviolable animals (avadhiyāni) mentioned in the fifth pillar edict of King Aśoka, notably the animals called suke, sālikā, cakavāke, haṁse, saṁḍake.¹

(62)

MAYA ASURA AND AHURA MAZDA

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Maya has been claimed by at least three nations, namely, the Hindus, the Parsis, and the Americans.

- (i) According to the Hindu traditions he was a Daitya. His genealogy is drawn thus : by Danu, the mother of the Dānavas, the sage Kāśyapa had a son named Viprachitti ; Maya was son of Viprachitti ; he had two daughters, named Vajrakāmā and Mandodarī, the latter of whom was the chief queen of Rāvaṇa and mother of

¹ Hultzsch, Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 126.

Meghanāda or Indrajit. His home was in the Devagiri Mountains in the neighbourhood of modern Delhi. He worked for men as well as Daityas and as stated in the Harivaṁśa he fought frequently with the gods with indifferent results. But he is known more as an architect of the Asuras, as Viśvakarma was the architect of the Suras or gods. The Mahābhārata (Sabhaparvan, I, 5, 9—12) speaks of him as the builder of a wonderful palace (council hall), of which it is stated there could not be any parallel in the world of the mortals, and whereon all the heavenly ideas were depicted in bricks and stones. He declares himself as a great poet (Mahākavi) of architecture, a Ruskin, among the rivals of gods.

There are several architectural treatises attributed to Maya. The edition of Pt. Ganapati Sastri based on three fragmentary and one incomplete manuscript contains thirty-four chapters. One pamphlet named *Mayavāstu* covering 36 pages and another named *Mayavāstu-śāstram* covering 40 pages have also been printed from Madras. A few extracts from another work named *Maya-śilpa* have been translated into English by Rev. J. E. Kearns in the Indian Antiquary (Vol. V, pp. 230, 293). There is another fragmentary unpublished English translation of a treatise named *Mayamata* in the Mackenzie collection (Translation, class X, Sanskrit, 2—6) in the India Office, London. There is a manuscript named *Mayamata-śilpa-śāstra-vidhāna* with a Telugu commentary by one Gannamāchārya, which has been noticed in the catalogue of Professor Eggeling. There is another manuscript bearing the title *Maya-śilpa-śatika*. In the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, there are as many as six large manuscripts bearing the title *Mayamata-*

vāstuśāstra. One of these six contains a Tamil commentary and two others two Telugu commentaries. The largest of these covering 390 pages of 22 lines to a page is complete in thirty-six chapters which are strikingly similar to the same number of chapters of the *Mānasāra*, and deal with town-planning, house-building, and several other architectural objects. "There is in Tamil a treatise on *Śilpa-śāstra* said to have been originally composed in Sanskrit by Myen (Maya) who, according to Mythology, was a son of Brahma and architect of the gods. The work under consideration seems to have been formed from selections of existing editions of the original work under the superintendence and guidance of persons having a practical knowledge of *Śilpa-śāstra* or at least of persons professing to have such knowledge."

In several other architectural treatises Maya has been recognised as an authority on architecture. One Maya is also included in the list of thirty-two authorities mentioned in the *Mānasāra*, one in the list of seven architects mentioned in the *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*, one in the eighteen authorities recognised in the *Matsya-purāṇa*, one of the eleven authorities of the *Viśvakarma-śilpa*, one of the more than twelve authorities of the *Sanat-Kumara-Vāstu-Śāstra*, and one of the twenty-one sources on which a large work, named *Samgraha*, has been based (see the writer's *Indian Architecture*, pp. 165, 164-165, 164, 97-note, 102, 106).

From all these it would unmistakably appear that Maya as an architect earned a large publicity and his original work was disseminated far and wide, but it suffered by omissions as well as by additions as was but natural in those days.

- (ii) Some scholars are of opinion that Maya-Asura is derivable from Ahura-Mazda of the Zend Avesta, the chief scripture of the Parsis of the Zoroastrian faith. That *Ahura* is the Persian

form of *Asura*, there is a general consensus of opinion, but between Maya and Mazda the affinity is not so direct. Besides *Asura* and *Ahura* are not used in the same sense; the original meaning of the term, as life (*asu*)-giver is retained only in *Ahura*, while *Asura* is the antagonist of Sura or god. The possibility of the identification of Maya-Asura with Ahura-Mazda arises from the fact that since the time of the separation between the Aryans and the Parsis probably somewhere in Persia, the antagonism between the two parties became very acute as the meanings of the term *Asura* would unmistakably indicate.

- (iii) The books of Chilar Balam contain the old traditions of the Mayas. They record the migrations of Maya clans, and were reduced to writing in the sixteenth century. "Along the east coast of Yucatan live the Santa Cruz Indians, presumably the direct descendants of the ancient Mayas." They live the lives of their ancestors of a thousand years ago; they worship the same gods and perform the ancient religious ceremonies. But after all very little is known about them, because their villages are buried in the dense forests of the hills and they permit no strangers to intrude. By way of exploration of the traces of the Mayas and the sites of a lost civilization Dr. Gann, partly in collaboration with Professor Morley of the Carnegie Institute, has discovered the great city of Coba. Mayas erected magnificent temples and palaces, most of which now lie buried in the tropical forests. Some have been discovered, but there is no doubt that a great number of them yet remain to be discovered.

"Whatever Dr. Gann's conclusions may be, his actual discoveries are of stupendous interest. The whole Maya remains as discovered show," adds Professor Grafton Elliot Smith of University College, London, "the closest possible relation with the civilisation as it existed in Java and South-east Asia to what has been found in Yucatan. There is nothing to my mind," further asserts Professor Elliot Smith, "that suggests that the form of civilisation is indigenous, and I should be inclined to hold that the temples at Java were the prototypes of what has been found in Yucatan. Until fifty years ago the orthodox held that the Maya civilisation was of Indian origin. The dating derived from the hieroglyphs was so vague as to give little help, and interpretation varies by as much as three or six centuries. What supremely interests the archaeologists," continues Professor Elliot Smith, "is that we find a civilisation starting full blown in central America. Under Asiatic influence it rose to great heights, but had already collapsed before the advent of the Spaniards who may have given it the *Coup-de-grace*. To know the real secret of Maya culture affects our whole interpretation of civilisation."

Purānic traditions, if they mean anything, will substantiate this view. According to the Purānas, it is held by some scholars, the Devas (? Chinese), the Daityas (of whose king Hiranyakasipa founded the Hysacannia Kingdom around the Caspian Sea), Mānavas (man from Manu, of the North), Nāgas (of the South) were born of Kaśyapa (god). Before the deluge, as a result of which the Gangetic plain submerged under seas, there was a war in which the Mānavas, Devas, Daityas and Nāgas joined against a Persian king Bel, Baal, Bal or Bali who was a descendant of Hiranyakasipa. Bali was defeated, his army dispersed, and of his generals Sumali fled to Ceylon and Maya to pātāla which is held to correspond to America. After the deluge the descendants of *Manus* who were followers of Lion-god (Narasimha) went

over to Egypt and founded the first dynasty of Kinds under *Menes*, who also worshipped a similar Sun-god Spinx. The descendants of Sumali spread as Sumelians or Sumerians. And the descendants of Maya came back to India and settled down as architects and built magnificent temples and wonderful palaces for the Pāṇḍava King Yudhiṣṭhira.

But there are no actual remains available, for comparison, of magnificent and "unparalleled palaces," temples and towns built by Maya in India with those discovered in America, which latter are held to be prototypes of those in Java. But in the main the copious description of Maya's buildings in India would seem to tally with those in America.

"Can different communities, such as the Indian, the Chinese and the American, build up a civilisation independent of each other, or is it possible for a certain civilisation to be spread about the world in the same way that a steam-engine can be distributed?" This is the great problem of ethnology and the identification of Maya will contribute to a solution of it.

(63)

MADANAPĀLA'S CORONATION AND IDENTIFICATION OF CHANDRA

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1. The subject-matter of the *Rāmacharita*—the deliverance of Varendrī by Rāmapāla from the hands of Bhīma, the leader of the Kaivarta rebels and its re-occupation by him.

2. Succession to the throne of Gauḍa after the tragic death of Rāmapāla by entering into the waters of the Ganges on news received of his maternal uncle Mahana's accidental death.

3. Madanapāla's right to the Gauḍa throne constitutionally unobjectionable and his succession to it after Gopāla III's accidental death, probably from snake-bite, while yet in his boyhood. Its epigraphic evidence.

Sandhyākara's description of Madanapāla's succession and the glorious passage on the coronation ceremony in the *Rāmacharita*.

4. This passage and its meaning when applied to Madanapāla and the *maṇḍalādhipati*, Chandra. It refers to the coronation of both the Gauḍādhipa and the Aṅgeśa. Restoration of Vighrahapāla III's (?) flourishing condition of the Pālā royalty by Madanapāla. The epithets of Chandra explained. Net result being Chandra was a *Mahāmāṇḍalika* and a son of Suvarṇa and Madanapāla's *bandhu* (kinsman or relative), the large *maṇḍala* being Aṅga itself.

5. Who was this Suvarṇa? He is to be identified with *mahāmāṇḍalika* Suvarṇadeva of Aṅga, mentioned in the *Tikā* of the *Rāmacharita* on v. 8 of Chapter II.

6. Discussion and refutation of MM. H. P. Sastri's and Mr. R. D. Banerjea's views that Suvarṇa was Mahana's brother and the establishment of the writer's view that he was Mahana's son.

7. Identification of Chandra. He was son of *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Suvarṇadeva of Aṅga and therefore grandson of Mahana and hence his *bandhu*.

8. No connection probable between this Chandra and the Chandradeva of the Gāhaḍvāl dynasty of Kanauj. MM. H. P. Sastri's and Mr. R. D. Banerjea's identification untenable.

9. Warning against tendency to identify the Chandra of the *Rāmacharita* with a king of the Chandra dynasty of Vaṅga (East Bengal), son of Suvarṇachandra.

ASOKA'S DHARMA AND RELIGION

REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A.

I

ASOKA'S DHARMA.

Various renderings of the word Dharma are found in English books. We adopt Hultzsch's translation 'morality' as the one that embraces all the different connotations given by those renderings.

The exposition of Dharma in Aśoka's edicts dates from the conquest of Kalinga, an event that took place in the eighth year after his abhiṣeka.¹ Then the sight of the miseries produced by the war changed Aśoka's mind and wishes.² In future he only strove for the conquest of morality.³

Three stages of mind are easily traced in this striving for morality. "After that now that the country of the Kalingas has been taken, Dēvānāmpriya is devoted to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality and to the instruction of people in morality."⁴

The reason why Aśoka strove for propagating morality among his subjects is because he considers himself the father of all his subjects, who are for him "like his own children."⁵ "And whatever effort I am making," says he, "is made in order that I may discharge the debt which I owe to living beings, that I may make them happy in this world and that they may attain heaven in the other world."⁶

Aśoka's new system for this morality-propaganda comprises two parts, proclamations of morality and instructions in morality.⁷

¹ R.E., 13, A.

² Ibid., E.

³ Ibid., U.

⁴ Ibid., C.

⁵ Sep. Jaugada R.E., 2, J; Sep. Dhauri R.E., 2, I.

⁶ R.E., 6, L; Sep. Jaugada R.E., 1, G; Ibid., 2, F.

⁷ P.E., 7, F—L.

Proclamations of morality.—Such are all the rock-edicts and the majority of the rest. They were issued “for the welfare and happiness of the people in order that not transgressing those rescripts might attain a promotion of morality.”¹

Instructions in morality.—“Manifold instruction in morality was ordered to be given.”² Aśoka devotes himself personally to this instruction.³ He abolished the so-called pleasure tours and undertook tours of morality.⁴ “On these tours the following takes place : visiting Sramanas and Brahmanas, and making gifts to them, visiting the aged and supporting them with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing them in morality and questioning them about morality.”⁵ For the same purpose he directed some of his officers to carry on this morality-propaganda⁶ and finally appointed special officers in charge of this work. They are called Mahāmatras of morality.⁷

Morality propaganda in foreign countries.—These Mahāmatras were sent to foreign countries to propagate Aśoka's Dharma.⁸ These countries were Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Cyrene, Corynth, Tanjore, Madura and Ceylon.⁹ He caused hospitals to be established in all these countries for both cattle and men.¹⁰

Aśoka's attitude towards different sects.—Some Mahāmatras were also busy in spreading morality among individuals of different sects.¹¹ Aśoka honours all religions,¹²

¹ P.E., 6, B.

² P.E., 7, M.

³ P.E., 6, F.

⁴ R.E., 8, A—D.

⁵ R.E., 8, E.

⁶ R.E., 3, C.

⁷ R.E., 5, I.

⁸ R.E., 5, J.

⁹ R.E., 13, Q.

¹⁰ R.E., 2, A—D.

¹¹ R.E., 5, J.

¹² P.E., 6, E.

and permits "that all sects may reside everywhere."¹ He wishes the doctrine of all the sects to be pure,² and specially morality to increase among them "guarding one's speech, *i.e.*, that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions."³ In two of his edicts he enjoins punishments for those who dare to break this concord and union among members of the Buddhist sect.⁴

Exposition of the Dharma.—Aśoka's Dharma is purely practical, though some dogmatic tenets may be found scattered here and there.

A. *Moral Principles.*—Morality "includes few sins (no sins), many virtuous deeds."⁵ Hence the ethics of Aśoka contain negative and positive principles, *viz.*, prohibitions and exhortations. "This progress of morality among men," says he himself, "has been promoted by me only in two ways, *viz.*, by moral restrictions and by conversion."⁶

I. *Aśoka's negative precepts :*

1. *Animals must not be killed.*⁷
2. *Living beings must not be hurt.*⁸
3. *Festival meetings must not be held.*⁹
4. *Social or superstitious ceremonies are not recommended.*¹⁰

II. *Aśoka's positive precepts :*

1. *Gentleness,*¹¹ specially towards animals.¹²

¹ R.E., 7, A.

² R.E., 12, J.

³ R.E., 12, C—I.

⁴ Sanchi and Sarnath, P.I., D—E.

⁵ P.E., 2, B—C.

⁶ P.E., 7, JJ.

⁷ R.E., 4, C; R.E., 11, C.

⁸ R.E., 4, C.

⁹ R.E., 1, C.

¹⁰ R.E., 9, B.

¹¹ P.E., 7, EE.

¹² R.E., 9, G.

2. *Liberality*,¹ towards Brahmanas and Sravanas,² friends, acquaintances and relatives³ and the aged.⁴

3. *Proper behaviour towards relatives*.⁵ Obedience to parents,⁶ friends, acquaintances and relatives.⁷ Courtesy to relatives,⁸ friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives.⁹

4. *Obedience to elders*.¹⁰ Reverence to elders;¹¹ courtesy to the aged,¹² to Brahmanas and Sravanas;¹³ obedience to those who receive high pay;¹⁴ obedience of the pupil to his master.¹⁵

5. *Compassion*¹⁶ towards animals,¹⁷ slaves and servants,¹⁸ and the poor and distressed.¹⁹

6. *Kindness*²⁰ in visiting Brahmanas and Sravanas,²¹ the aged²² and country people.²³

7. *Self-Control*²⁴ in speaking truth,²⁵ in guarding one's speech,²⁶ and in moderating expenditure and possessions.²⁷

¹ P.E., 7, EE.

² R.E., 3, D.

³ Ibid.

⁴ R.E., 8, E.

⁵ Brahmagiri, R.I., O.

⁶ R.E., 3, D.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ R.E., 4, C.

⁹ R.E., 13, G.

¹⁰ R.E., 4, C.

¹¹ R.E., 9, G.

¹² R.E., 7, HH.

¹³ R.E., 4, C.

¹⁴ R.E., 13, G.

¹⁵ Brahmagiri, R.I., O.

¹⁶ P.E., 7, EE.

¹⁷ Brahmagiri, R.I., N.

¹⁸ R.E., 9, G.

¹⁹ P.E., 7, HH.

²⁰ R.E., 13, O.

²¹ R.E., 8, E.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ P.E., 13, O.

²⁵ P.E., 7, EE; Brahmagiri, R.I., N.

²⁶ P.E., 1G, .

²⁷ R.E., 3, D.

8. *Goodness.*¹
9. *Impartiality.*²
10. *Purity.*³

The practice of morality is a difficult thing. "It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds,"⁴ specially "without great love of morality, careful examination, great obedience, great fear of sin and great energy."⁵

B. *Dogmatic tenets of Asoka's Dharma :*

1. *The existence of many dēvas.*⁶
2. *Sacredness of life.*
3. *Relation between human deeds and human salvation.*
"To practise morality is meritorious."⁷ "This bears fruit in this world and in the other world."⁸
4. *Heaven.* "If one conforms to this (morality), happiness in this world and in the other world will be attained."⁹
5. *Eternity of heaven.* By the practice of morality "endless merit is produced in the other world."¹⁰
6. *Immortality of the soul.* Consequence of No. 5.
7. *The goal of our existence.* "Only the fruits of the other world are of great value."¹¹
8. *Heaven is for all.*¹²
9. *Hell.*—Not clearly admitted. He speaks of demerit as the great danger of men.¹³ Hence there is a punishment for men's sins.

¹ P.E., 7, EE.

² R.E., 13, O.

³ P.E., 7, EE.

⁴ R.I., 5, B—C.

⁵ P.I., 1, C.

⁶ Rupnath and Sahasram, R.E., E.

⁷ P.E., 1, B.

⁸ R.E., 13, AA.

⁹ P.E., 7, PP.

¹⁰ R.E., 9, M (Shahbazgarhi).

¹¹ R.E., 13, W.

¹² Rupnath and Sahasram, R.I., C.

¹³ R.E., 10, D.

10 *Forgiveness of sins.* Through fasts even criminals may obtain happiness in the other world.¹

A criticism of Aśoka's Dharma. In this Dharma there is nothing exclusively Buddhist. It is something common to all religions, though specially influenced by Jain doctrines as regards sacredness and inviolability of life.

There is not the least mention of any Buddhist deep principle. For instance, nothing is said by Aśoka about the Buddhist Nirvāṇa.

The lists of evil passions and dispositions do not tally with the āsavas and kilesas of the Buddhists.

His tolerance of all sects is purely Hindu. Some of the passages in which he prides himself upon the virtue of tolerance must have been terribly displeasing to Buddhists.

This shows that the Dharma preached by Aśoka was not the Buddhist one, but a general Dharma common to all religions, though based upon Hinduism and influenced by Jainism.

II

AS'OKA'S RELIGION.

There are some inscriptions of Aśoka which are always adduced in support of the theory that his religion was Buddhism. I left them purposely for treatment in this chapter, for I consider them historical rather than doctrinal. It is true, Aśoka could preach a universal Dharma, based upon the Hindu one, while he professed Buddhism in his heart. A study of these inscriptions will disclose what was his private religion.

Three of these historical inscriptions of Aśoka speak of the time in which he became an *upāsaka*, a lay-worshipper,² while their parallel inscription of Rupnath

¹ P.E., 4, L—N.

² Sahasram, R.I., B ; Brahmagiri, R.I., C.

says that he was "openly a Śākya"¹ and the one of Maski reads "a Buddha Śākya."² Does this mean that he became a Buddhist believer on this occasion? It is not clear. We must not place too much importance on the word itself, forgetting the spirit of the sentence. Certainly *upāsake* means a lay-worshipper but a lay-worshipper does not mean anything else than one who is not properly acquainted with the deep dogmas of his faith, and has not been initiated into its mysteries. This word *upāsake* may, therefore, be interpreted as referring to Aśoka's conversion after the Kalinga war, i.e., his becoming a lay-worshipper. Naturally he could also call himself Śākya and Buddha Śākya because any conversion is a kind of enlightenment, and he could therefore consider himself the enlightened one. Such is the meaning of the word *upāsake*, Śākya and Buddha-Śākya. Now the mere fact that one of them is not always repeated in the four parallel inscriptions shows that the writer did not stick fast to this idea. On the other hand the following line "But I had not been very zealous" is invariably repeated in the first three of these decrees and clearly supposed in the fourth. This is the main idea Aśoka wishes to make known, that in the beginning he had not been very enthusiastic but that after a year and a half he became very zealous.

The event that marks the separation between these two periods is one of the most discussed points in the life of Aśoka. "But a year and somewhat more has passed," says he, "since I have visited the Saṅgha and have been very zealous."³ This visit to the Saṅgha is also mentioned in the Mahāvamsa,⁴ and other Pali chronicles. Bühler supposed that Aśoka had actually entered the Saṅgha,⁵

¹ Rupnath, R.I., B.

² Maski, R.I., B.

³ Rupnath, R.I., D; Maski, R.I., C; Brahmagiri, R.I., E.

⁴ Mahāvamsa, V, p. 23 (Wijesimvāh, P. Translation, Colombo, 1909).

⁵ Bühler, "The Three New Edicts of Aśoka," IA, VII, p. 141.

and had become a Buddhist monk. His opinion has been followed by Mr. V. Smith,¹ and Dr. F. W. Thomas.² They seem to base their opinion not only on this edict, but also on the statement of It-sing, who saw an image of Aśoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk,³ and on the *Divyavadana* that states that Aśoka died without power for having renounced the world and becoming a Buddhist monk.⁴ Senart has explained that the expression *Samgha-papite* entering the Samgha, must be understood "in a material, physical meaning."⁵ But Hultzsch reads already *Sagha upete* and translates "since I have visited the Samgha."⁶ Prof. Bhandarkar supposes that he actually lived in the Samgha not certainly as a *Bhikshu*, a state he thinks incompatible with kingship, but as a mere *Bhikshu-gatika*, one living among monks.⁷

Anyhow it seems quite certain that Aśoka never entered the Samgha, for becoming a monk. He paid a visit to it and he was much struck with the life of mortification laid by those monks. This sight augmented the zeal of the monarch, and as a result of this visit he issued two decrees: one for all his subjects and another for the members of the Samgha. The former is the one contained in the Rupnath and cognate edicts. We must note that this document though it is the first exposition of the Dharma after his visit to the Samgha does not give any precept we might call Buddhist. The other document addressed to the Samgha itself is thoroughly different. This is the Calcutta-Bairat, R.I.⁸

¹ Smith, Aśoka, p. 26, 35—9.

² The Cambridge History of India, I, p. 504.

³ Fleet, J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 496.

⁴ J.R.A.S., 1913, p. 657.

⁵ Senart, *The Inscriptions of Piyadasi*, Ia, XX, p. 163.

⁶ Hultzsch, C.I.I.I., p. 166 f.

⁷ Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, P.F. 9—80.

⁸ Dr. F. W. Thomas, *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 498, supposes that this inscription, called also the Babra Edict, was issued towards the close of his reign. But Mr. Hultzsch, C.I.I., p. XLVII, says that it was published just after Aśoka's visit to the Samgha.

This document has been supposed to be the profession of Buddhistic faith of Aśoka. It would have been so, if addressed to all his subjects, but it was addressed only to the Saṃgha : The Magadha king Priyadarśin having saluted the Saṃgha, hopes they are both well and comfortable.”¹ Then it is not strange to hear him adding : “It is known to you, Sirs, how great is my reverence and faith in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṃgha. Whatsoever, Sirs, has been spoken by the blessed Buddha, all that is quite well spoken.”² This is not a profession of faith. The document being addressed to the monks themselves, he could not say otherwise. Aśoka had to observe the injunction given to all the sects ; not to say anything against another sect and foster the purity of its doctrine. In order to obtain this, he recommends both the monks and the nuns as well as the laity to read often and meditate upon seven extracts of Buddha’s Dharma.³ It is worth noticing the difference between this document addressed to the Dharma and the Rupnath R.I. written at the same time, but addressed to all the subjects of his vast Empire. Even Prof. Bhandarkar remarks that the six passages recommended in the Calcutta-Bairat edict do not express any ritualistic or metaphysical element of Buddhism.⁴

Moved by the same eclectic spirit he visited during his first tour of morality several places connected with Buddha’s history. “When king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years he went to Sambodhi” (Bodhi tree).⁵ During another tour he visited Buddha’s birth-place, and conferred some privileges on it. “When king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed twenty years, he came

¹ Calcutta-Bairat, R.I., A.

² Ibid., B—C.

³ Ibid., E—F.

⁴ Bhandarkar, O.C., p. 88.

⁵ R.E., 8, C.

himself and worshipped this spot, because the Buddha Sakyamuni was borne here. He both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse, and caused a stone pillar to be set up, in order to show that the Blessed One was borne here. He made the village of Lumini free of taxes and paying only an eighth share of the produce."¹ His visit to these two spots do not prove anything in favour of his supposed Buddhism. This is only an individual instance of that general rule he followed during his reign: all sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds."² Even nowadays the Hindus go to both the places to worship there the memory and the relics of the Buddha.

Other instances of honours given by Aśoka to other sects are not lacking in his own inscriptions. He sent Mahāmatras of morality to the Nirgranthas, to the Brahmans and to the Ājīvikas.³ The latter, a Vaishnava (?) sect founded by one Gośāla, a contemporary of Gautama and Mahavira, were specially honoured by the emperor as the dedication of the caves of the Barabar Hill discloses.⁴ Moreover "when king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the stūpa of the Buddha Konākamana to the double of its original size. And when he had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped this spot and caused a stone pillar to be set up."⁵ Konākamana was one of the previous Buddhas, most likely a mythological person, worshipped by a sect rival of Buddhism founded by Dēvadatta, Buddha's cousin.⁶

His strict orders as regards any schism produced in the Saṃgha are⁷ another instance of his interest for the purity and morality of the sects.

¹ Rummindei, P.I., A—C.

² P.E., 6, E.

³ P.E., 7, Z.

⁴ Barabar Hill Inscriptions.

⁵ Nagali Sagar Pillar, A—B.

⁶ Cf. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 33 (4th ed.).

⁷ Kausambi, P.E., D—E.; Sanchi, P.I., C—E.

The *Mahavamsa* states that Aśoka erected many Buddhist buildings,¹ but the *Rajatarangini* states likewise that he built many Brahmanical temples in Kajmere.² Moreover Dr. F. W. Thomas rightly remarks that "When the Chinese pilgrims refer, as they constantly do, to a 'stūpa of Aśoka' we cannot in strictness understand anything more than one of archaic style."³

Such are the arguments generally used to prove the Buddhist faith of Aśoka. I feel sure that no impartial unprejudiced historian will accept them as valuable to prove such a conclusion. We have been misled by the Buddhist chronicles long ago. Modern criticism cannot accept other documents referring to Aśoka than his own inscriptions. And these do not say that he embraced the doctrines of Gautama. No document records his embracing a new faith. We know moreover that his family, and specially his father Bindhusara, professed Brahmanical faith.⁴ Hence Aśoka remained Hindu and Brahmanical till the end of his days.

Aśoka has been compared with Akbar and both have been called the two greatest emperors of Hindustan. Now, it seems quite certain that Akbar's fame, based mainly upon the statements of his friend and courtier Abul-Fazl, needs some revision after the research in Sher Shah's life and character done by Prof. Kalikaranjan Qanungo. So it happens also with Aśoka. It is true that he enlarged the dominions of the Empire, by the conquest of Kalinga. But was he such a great statesman as it has been said? My opinion is that his talents of administration cannot be compared with those of Akbar. After the death of Aśoka the Maurya Empire practically disappears from the scene of Indian

¹ Mahavamsa, V, p. 23.

² Rajatarangini (Cumar Datt's Translation), I, p. 8.

³ *The Cambridge History of India*, p. 501.

⁴ Mahavamsa, p. 15.

History. Had he followed the wise rules in administration drawn by his grandfather Chandragupta and his experienced minister Kauṭilya, the Empire would have lasted a little longer. The greatest monarch of Hindustan during the Hindu period was Chandragupta. His grandson Aśoka's glory is based upon intellectual grounds. He was a philosopher rather than a sovereign ; he was a teacher of morals rather than an administrator.

(65)

THE RISE OF THE MAURYA EMPIRE

S. V. VENKATESWARA, M.A.

(University Professor, Mysore).

1. *Who were the Mauryas ?* Evidence as to their origin in the light of the original sources. Differentiation of the later accounts such as that in the *Jati-Viveka*, and of confused renderings based on hearsay as in the Greek accounts now available, from genuine traditions as in the *Atthakathā*, *Mudrārākshasa*, *Fa-hien*, and the *Mahāvamsa*.

2. *The auxiliaries of Chandragupta.* Kauṭilya and his work. The historical back-ground of *Justin's* account. Comparison with legendary history as in the *Divyāvadāna*. Identification of the Lion-king, of Parvataka of the *Mudrārākshasa* and *Mahāvamsa*, and of the frontier allies of Chandragupta in Buddhist and Jaina stories. Identity of the Elephant-king. Discussion of possible references to other allies.

3. *The Revolution :* its meaning and duration.

4. *The date of Chandragupta's accession.* Aśoka-Hellenistic synchronism the real sheet-anchor of Indian chronology. Date of Aśoka's 13th Rock Inscription, discussed in the light of internal and external evidence.

Amtakini and Antigenes. *Vyushtas* in the Minor Rock Inscription. Confirmatory evidence from Rock Inscriptions 6 and 10. Comparison of data with traditional evidence.

Discussion of *Andracottos*, *Sandracottos*, *Xandrames*, *Agrammes*, *Alexandrum* and *Nandrum*. Who was the Barber's son?

Possible need for reconsidering the chronology in the light of these discussions.

(66)

THE GURJARAS ARE THE HUNS ?

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(*Madras*).

The Gurjaras are supposed to represent the Hun group of tribes or hordes who settled in the Punjab and Rajputana.

Related to the Rajputs and so Rajputs also supposed to be of the Hun stock.

A short history of the Gurjaras.

Gurjaras mentioned along with the Huns in the *Harsha-charita*.

Some traditions about them. Their connection with Pushkara.

They are related to the Solankis of Anhilwad.

The word Solanki, same as Chālukya.

The Solankis of Anhilwad, the descendants and successors of the Chālukyas of Badami.

The Chālukyas. The myth of their migration to South India from Ayodhya in the 6th century A.D.

The tradition identical with that which says that all the Tamil castes originally came from the North.

The Chālukyas same as Velir.

Their stock. Mention in the Sangham works.

Bad Gujars and the Rehbari Gujars.

The Uludunbor and the Uluvittunbor.

The mention of the Kuchchara Kuṭigai or temple constructed by the Gurjaras in Maṇimeghalai.

The Agnikula tradition much older than the Huns.

Its existence in Tamil literature.

Irungovēl, a Sangham Chief, was an Agnikula as well as born in the family of Kṛṣṇa.

No case of borrowing traditions. The tribes carried the traditions along with them in their migration.

(67)

THE CASTE OF HARSHAVARDHANA

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Was Harshavardhana a Vaishya or a Kshatriya? The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang calls him a Vaishya (Watters, Yuan Chwang, i, 343; Beal, *Buddhist Records*, i, 209). In Beal's gloss it is (*Buddhist Records*, i, 209, n.12) that Vaishya is here, perhaps, the name of a Rajput clan (Bais or Vaisa), not the mercantile class or caste among the Hindus. He cites Cunningham (*Ancient Geogr. of India*, p. 377), and on the basis of that opinion, actually translates: "The King is a Bais Rajput" (in the *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 83). But neither the Chinese pilgrim nor his Chinese biographers say anything more than that Harsha was a Vaishya by caste. The pilgrim had met Harsha and been in his court, and should have known. The pilgrim in mentioning the caste of Hindu kings always mentions the name of one of the four classical castes. He never mentions the clan or tribe of a Kshatriya king. Watters (Yuan Chwang, i, 344-345) says: "Cunningham may be right. But we must remember that Yuan Chwang had ample opportunities for learning the antecedents of the royal

family." To my mind some incidental allusions in Bāna's *Harsha-carita* prove the accuracy of the pilgrim's statement, and make it difficult to believe that Harsha was a Kshatriya. Bāna's book is a sustained and poetic eulogy of Harsha. In one place he speaks of the "vile Kshatriyas" (trans., Cowell and Thomas, p. 259); in another (id., p. 186) he gives point to the exhortation to Harsha to slay the king of Gauda by the example of Parasurāma who slaughtered the Kshatriyas; Parasurāma is also mentioned in another place (id., p. 181) as a model out-modelled. Would a panegyrist have referred to Kshatriyas in these terms if his hero had been a Kshatriya?

Against this must be set down the fact that Harsha was father-in-law to Dhruvapata, king of Vallabhi in Kathiawar. We are told by the Chinese pilgrim that he was a Kshatriya, "as they all are" (Beal, ii, 267). This king had recently become a Buddhist. What the force of "as they all are" in Beal's translation may be, I do not know. Such a qualifying phrase does not appear in Watters' translation (ii, 246). We know from another passage of the *Si-yu-ki* (Watters, i, 170) that Yuang Chwang considered the normal king to be a Kshatriya. "The sovereignty," he says, speaking of Indian institutions generally, and not of a particular king, "for many successive generations has been exercised only by Kshatriyas; rebellion and regicide have occasionally arisen, other castes assuming the distinction." It is possible that in Yuang Chwang's mind a man of another caste rising to be a king may in a sense be called a Kshatriya, and that the King of Vallabhi may have only been a Kshatriya because he was a king,—"as they all are." Or it is possible that by the law of hypergamy a Kshatriya king of Vallabhi may have taken to wife a daughter of the Vaishya caste, especially if she belonged to a royal house which had acquired Imperial power.

It is not quite clear from the *Si-yu-ki* (Bk. II) what the exact practice was as regards mixed marriages in India in Yuang Chwang's time. The three European translators interpret the Chinese passage differently. Beal's version is: "In these four classes purity or impurity of caste assigns to every one his place. When they marry, they rise or fall in position according to their new relationship." This is in accordance with the older French translation of Julien: "Quand les hommes ou les femmes se marient, ils prennent un rang élevé ou restent dans une condition obscure, suivant la différence de leur origine." This is hotly contested by Watters who quotes this rendering (i, 169) and thinks it absurd. He substitutes: "The members of a caste marry within the caste, the great and the obscure keeping apart." But all versions agree that Yuang Chwang referred to mixed castes at the end of the same paragraph and we find mixed castes referred to in Manu.

It is noteworthy that the whole spirit of Bāna's panegyric in *Harṣa-carita* lends support to the theory that Harsha's family was not of Kshatriya origin. The founder of the family, Pushpa-bhuti, is not described as a Kshatriya, but as having, like Indra incarnate, a bow supporting all castes (or, of all colours): (Cowell and Thomas, p. 84). The graphic scene in which his investiture with the sword *Aṭṭahāsa* (id., pp. 89—97) with solemn though gruesome rites to Shiva, is described, implies that the family was new to kingship, power, and glory. Its original seat was Thaneshwar, which was too far west for Bais Rajputs. Indeed Thaneshwar was in Yuang Chwang's time chiefly noted as a commercial city (Beal, i, 183). It abounded in grain; its families were rich and given to excessive luxury (*cf.* the epithet of Bana: "Kuvera's city": Cowell and Thomas, 82); most of the people followed after worldly gain; and there was a large accumulation of rare and valuable merchandise from every quarter. It was from such an emporium of

trade that Harsha's family arose. And when we are expressly told by the Chinese pilgrim who met him that he belonged to the Vaishya caste, we have no right to doubt his word. The pilgrim knew quite well the difference between the castes he mentions, and he is not likely to have committed a slip.

(68)

THE ORIGIN OF THE BRĀHMĪ ALPHABET

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There are two main schools of thought in this matter: (i) that Brāhmī is of foreign origin, (ii) that it is of indigenous growth.

Among the former four different sources are put forward: (1) Dr. Wilson thought that the origin was Greek or Phoenician; in this there are great chronological and philological difficulties which have not been satisfactorily answered. (2) Deecke's theory of origin from the Assyrian Cuneiform through the South Semitic. The latter part of this theory will be considered later, while the former part is too fanciful to be seriously maintained. (3) Even more fanciful is the suggestion of deriving it from the Chinese. (4) The most seriously held theories are those that trace the Aśoka script to one of the ancient Semitic alphabets, *viz.*, (a) Phoenician, (b) North Semitic through the Aramean of Babylon, and (c) South Semetic through the script of Yemen.

(a) Main difficulty with regard to the Phoenician is that direct intercourse between India and Phoenicia closed quite early (about B.C. 800). It is very probable that the earliest Phoenician and the pre-historic script of India discovered by Yazdani are related as sister scripts derived ultimately from the same parent.

(b) The North Semitic theory has the support of the great name of Bühler. Objections are:

(1) Kharoṣṭhī is admittedly of the same origin, and it is fundamentally of a different type. To answer this objection it has been suggested that the two scripts came over to India by different routes. But this answer is not at all satisfactory, especially if we remember that both were used for practically the same language. Another answer suggested is that one is a "clerks' alphabet" and that the other is for the Pandit. But this is not enough to explain the *fundamental* differences and the want of any fundamental resemblance. This latter statement is made on Bühler's own enumeration of the distinguishing characteristics of the two alphabets.

(2) Bühler's table of derivation of Brāhmī is faulty, for (i) No less than 10 forms out of 22 are "intermediate," in other words purely hypothetical; (ii) Only *one* letter is clearly identical with the proposed original; and (iii) only five more are reasonably probable. Contrast this with his table for Kharoṣṭhī, where, (i) Of the 20 letters 8 are absolutely identical; (ii) 9 more are reasonably probable, and (iii) there are no hypothetical forms at all. (See Tables I and II.)

(3) Bühler derives the same sound in Brāhmī and in Kharoṣṭhī from *different* North Semitic letters. (Besides this there was a historical reason for the introduction of Kharoṣṭhī which seems to be absent in the case of Brāhmī.) Discrepancies between Bühler's derivation of the two alphabets are shown in Table III; from which it would appear, (i) that the clerks who adopted Kharoṣṭhī knew Sanskrit phonetics better than the Pandits who used Brāhmī; (ii) that Brāhmī vowels are arranged unnaturally and inconsistently with the rules of Sanskrit; (iii) that among consonants the derivations of *gh*, *t*, *d*, and *s* are absolutely unsatisfactory and unscientific.

The only conclusion we come to is that Bühler is arguing *a priori*.

(c) Taylor advanced the South Semitic theory. But there are two main objections to this, (i) that Taylor is utterly ignorant of Sanskrit, and (ii) that he cannot point out any alphabet which could be the parent. The Semitic alphabets he gives in his table are actually *more than a century later* than Brāhmī.

Two further difficulties against any Semitic origin of Brāhmī are: (i) the order of the letters and (ii) their numerical value. (See Table IV.) Thus the theories of foreign origin seem all to lack consistency and phonetics.

Hence indigenous growth is the only theory left. The older upholders of this theory adduced very feeble arguments in its support, moreover pre-Aśoka script had not been then discovered. These latter have been now discovered, and are: (i) the Harapa seals and the latter finds at Mohenjo-Daro. But very probably they are unconnected with the Brāhmī. (ii) Several pre-Aśoka Inscriptions in Brāhmī, but running right to left. (iii) Pre-historic script on pottery discovered by Yazdani in 1917.

Objections raised against the indigenous theory :

(i) Absence of older scripts. This has already been answered by recent discoveries.

(ii) The practical uniformity of Aśoka script all over India. There is uniformity but that is because the Aśoka Inscriptions typified the Religious and the Imperial unity of the nation under Aśoka. Moreover there is variety enough in the forms of most of the letters.

(iii) The letters of Brāhmī can be arranged in groups showing certain primary letters and others secondary ones derivable from them. This, it is maintained shows that it was borrowed from foreign sources, and that the secondary forms represent the sounds absent in the Semitic. In answer it may be admitted that the letters do fall into groups, but that they conform to the rules of Sanskrit phonetic groups. (See Table V.)

(iv) There are some structural resemblances between Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī and because the former is of Semitic origin, therefore the latter must also be similarly derived. The resemblance that we find between these two is mainly in the treatment of the medial vowels, and here there is admittedly borrowing on the part of the "less learned script." But though the system of marking the medial vowels is similar, the vowel systems of these two are fundamentally different. In the Kharoṣṭhī all vowels are derivable through the Semitic *Aleph*, whereas in Brāhmī the vowels fall into the three natural Sanskrit groups of *a*, *i*, and *u* series.

Positive evidence in favour of the indigenous theory :

(i) Indian tradition itself. Sanskrit and Pali works also mention various types of alphabets, including both the alphabets known to us from inscriptions. Words relating to writing are all indigenous except only *lipi*, which came from the Persian into Kharoṣṭhī, and the two rare words *melā* and *melāndhuka* which are borrowed from Greek.

(ii) Evidence of foreign writers: the Greeks (like Megasthenes), the Chinese and the Arab Alberuni. All mention writing as of indigenous origin and of high antiquity.

(iii) Evidence from Sanskrit literature. Writing mentioned frequently in the Epics and the Dharmasāstras. Pali literature also mentions writing as practised extensively. There is even a game for children based upon the tracing of letters (the *akkharikā*).

(iv) Internal evidence of the Inscriptions themselves shows that there are local variations of form for all the letters which are capable of being varied. This would prove that there was a large variety of scripts in India even at that period. The discovery of pre-Aśokan script supplies the needed links between the Brāhmī and the Proto-Indian original.

(v) The scientific investigation of Sanskrit phonetics at a very early date also leads to the presumption that writing was indigenous to India.

The direction of writing may also be considered. Pre-Aśoka script runs right to left like the Semitic. But right to left is the *natural* direction for writing if we hold the pen in the right hand. This tendency is observed in children learning to write. And all important systems of writing have had originally this natural direction. The change in the direction is due mainly to the use of ink, and the consequent fear of smudging what has been written if the original direction were preserved. There is an intermediate stage of boustrophedon.

The signs on pottery of pre-historic age discovered and classified by Yazdani are some 131 in number. These bear a most remarkable resemblance to the alphabetic signs discovered in places so wide apart as Spain, Egypt and Arabia. (See Table VI.) In Egypt the alphabetic signs *precede* the hieroglyphs. These signs seem to have existed from pre-historic times, to have been carried to the various lands far apart in the course of trade expeditions, and it also seems that some two dozen of them have survived and have been universally adopted.

In all lands signs rather than pictures are the primitive method of writing. Children first make scratches and call them by arbitrary names before they make pictures. By long usage and convention these primitive signs came to represent certain specific objects. In the development of these signs certain well-marked stages are observable: (i) The signs of the Hunter to point out the way; (ii) Property signs or Personal marks; (iii) Next the meaning of these marks would be transferred from the person possessing to the thing possessed; (iv) Then the *sound* of the name of the thing; (v) Next syllabaries, and (vi) Alphabet.

The close resemblance between the signs in all the different lands points to a family connection. They probably originated in signs which had their birth in the Neolithic period. This Primitive Script spread over a large area stretching from Spain across Egypt and Arabia up to India and probably even further East. This script had at least five special centres of development from whence it underwent further ramifications. (See Table VII.)

Thus we could be justified in considering Brāhmī as being in the line of direct descent from this Proto-Indian variety of the Primitive Script and as being in its development and in all its characteristics wholly Indian.

(69)

1. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE AŚOKAN EDICTS; 2. THE MINOR ROCK EDICTS OF AŚOKA RECONSIDERED

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1. The paper re-examines certain passages in the Edicts to bring out their chronological significance and presents some new grounds for holding the usual view that the Minor Rock Edicts are the earliest, and the Pillar Edicts the latest, of the Edicts, while the two separate Edicts in Kalinga are earlier than the fourteen Rock Edicts.

2. This paper offers some fresh suggestions for the correct interpretation of the two passages in the Minor Rock Edict I of Aśoka which are notorious for the controversy that has gathered round their meanings.

YOGIMARA CAVE INSCRIPTION ; IS IT BUDDHISTIC ?

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Reading—(1) Śutanuka nama, (2) Devadaśikiyi, (3) Śutanuka nama devadaśikiyi, (4) Tam Kamaitha Balanaśeye, (5) Devadine nama Lupadakhe. No real “ u ” mark in Balanaśeye, the apparent sign perhaps due to a crack. Paper estampages more trustworthy than Photographs. *Language*—Māgadhi, on account of the substitution of *l* for *r*, *ś* for *s*, *e* for *a* or *ā* and of short vowels for long. *Meanings of words*—*Devadaśikiyi* may be Devadassiki in Pali, but making gods answer questions through the medium of devadāsīs was not sanctioned by Buddhism, nor had Buddhist monks anything to do with devadāsīs or devadāsīs or with the theatre. The devadāsī Sutanukā probably answers to the Rangopājivinyah of Kauṭilya. *Kamaitha* (loved or caused to be loved) bars out Buddhist connexion. *Balanaseye* = Bārānaseyo in Pali = of Benares. The *b* makes connexion with Varuṇa difficult and Varuṇa-seva (ka) even if accepted does not give anything Buddhist. Words in Māgadhi inscriptions should be compared with Pali and not with Sanskrit. *Lupadakhe* = Pali Rūpadakkha, Sanskrit Rūpadaksha or Rūpadarśaka. The Milindapanha gives us no light about the functions of the Rūpadakkha but makes it certain that he was some state officer, having nothing to do with the Buddhist Church. Rūpadarśaka in Kauṭilya is an officer for regulating the currency. But Lupadakhe here seems to be connected with Rūpadaksha and to mean simply “ skilled in Rūpa, i.e., Nāṭya,” i.e., a skilled actor (or sculptor or artist) and no state or other officer or a judge of Buddhist canon law—There does not seem to have been any special judge for trying offences against the canon law : the work was done by

Buddha himself and later by all the Monks assembled together (*cf.* also the proceedings according to Kauṭilya). The inner chambers and amphitheatre in the adjoining cave, undoubtedly for staging plays, make Buddhist character impossible. Devadāsīs could not be Buddhistic and must needs be Brahmanical (though not "Vedic"). Sutanukā probably lived in the Yogimara cave and had her meetings with her lover there and she was engaged as an actress in the adjoining cave. The letters were probably cut out by Devadatta himself. [There are two photographs with the paper, one of a photograph and the other of a paper impression.]

(71)

KOLHAPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION
OF SATYĀŚRAYA VINAYĀDITYA :
520 ŚĀKE (?)

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The plates were discovered by me at Kolhapur in January, 1925, when I was working there as the Senior Professor of Sanskrit in the Rajaram College. In the present paper I have given :

1. A full account of these plates.
2. The text of the inscription.
3. The text re-written with my corrections.
4. Contents and my observations.
5. My reasons for regarding it as spurious :
 - (a) The discrepancy of the date ;
 - (b) The discrepancy of the chronology ;
 - (c) Posteriority of the script employed ;
 - (d) Incorrectness of the language fit for a forged document ;
6. Conclusions.

COPPER IMPLEMENTS FOUND IN THE UNITED PROVINCES

Rai Sahib PRAYAG DAYAL,

(*Curator, Lucknow*).

Plate I—A find of three copper objects found in Cawnpore District ; appear as outlines of human figures. Mr. Vincent Smith termed a similar object in Calcutta (Indian Museum) as a "human figure," Dr. Anderson said that it was impossible to surmise to what purpose it was put. The objects may have been used as weapons or baits for large crocodiles. They may represent some deity like Saturn also (*cf.* Practices of Joshis).

[Plates II and III give harpoon heads and spear heads.]

Other implements—(a) a copper hatchet, (b) five copper celts, (c) two copper hatchets, (d) two harpoon heads and five spear heads (two very rare), (e) a copper celt—all described in detail.

Specimens of copper implements from many districts and hence a tangible evidence of the existence of Copper Age in Northern India.

THE MEANING OF THE WORD "NISHKA" IN THE VEDIC LITERATURE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN THE ORIGIN OF COINAGE IN ANCIENT INDIA

Rai Sahib MONORANJAN GHOSH, M.A.

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The ordinary idea of the origin and use of coinage in Ancient India is that the use of coinage can be dated from the Buddhist period. General Cunningham, however, dated the origin of coinage about 600 B.C. or utmost 1000 B.C. According to him and other numismatics only silver and

copper coins were in circulation. There was no gold coinage; only gold ingots or gold used as bullion were in circulation. The study of the word "Nishka" in the Vedic literature and the elaborate system of minting gold, silver and copper coins as mentioned in Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra disprove the current opinion. The passages in Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra fully prove that gold, silver and copper coins were in circulation at least in the time of the Maurya kings.

A gold coin *Suvarṇa* was in use in the time of the Mauryas. From *Manusmṛitī* we learn that 4 *Suvarṇa* coins were equal to one Nishka. In a passage from *Vātsyāna Kāmasūtra* we know that Nishka was a coin of higher denomination than a *Kārshāpaṇa*. Nishka in the Rig Veda has been used in the sense of gold necklace and gold coin. Kakshīvān received 100 Nishkas from Svanaya, an Asura king reigning on the bank of the Indus in Sindh. In more passages than one in the Rig Veda we find Nishka used as the name of the gold necklace.

In Satapatha Brahmana one gold coin called "Nishka" was given by Uddālaka Aruni to a priest of the Northern Country.

We know that gold necklace was given by the king to Adharyu after sacrifice. Queens decked with Nishkas attended sacrifice. From later Sanskrit literature we know that Nishka was the name of the gold ornament of the neck. Is there any relation between the necklace and the coin?

From analogy we find that there is. Round the Mediterranean coast the medium of exchange after the age of barter was in many countries some ornaments or metal objects, gold and silver rings were used as coin in Egypt, in some places bronze bars were used as medium of exchange. The word "Nishka" helps us to reconstruct the origin of coinage in Ancient India. In India Nishka as gold necklace was at first used as pure ornament. Then, in course of time,

with the development of commerce the word came to be the name of gold coin of particular weight as the word hundred Nishkas in Rig Veda will lead us to think. Further if Nishka was not a gold coin, how four *suvarṇas* were considered equal to one "Nishka." *Suvarṇa* was a gold coin we know definitely from references in Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra.

The word "Nishka" is not of Sanskrit origin. It is of foreign origin was suggested by Thomas who considers it to be derived from Hebrew word "Miskal" meaning weighing. In Summerian language "Nashqu" means magnificent and precious. I think Nishka is derived from Summerian "Nashqu." There is another word for gold "Hiranya" in Sanskrit which is also of foreign origin. It is akin to Hebrew Hiraunya meaning yellow. Summerian name for gold is Hurāṣu akin to Hiranya. The origin of coinage in India probably took place on the banks of Indus in Sindh. The earliest mention of "Nishka" is the gift of 100 Nishkas by a king of Sindh. From recent excavation we know that in Sindh earliest civilisation in India existed. We also know that there was close relation between Sindh and the Mesopotamia. Trade early developed between two countries both by land and sea. The earliest traders were probably Phœnician from which according to some the word Banik is derived. Phœnicians were regarded as originally living at the head of the Persian Gulf. These traders took gold and other commodities and brought silver which was called *Rupya* or money with "rupa" "forms" on it. The origin of silver money was not so early as the time of Rig Veda; at that time silver was known but was not recognised as a medium of exchange as it was a rare metal in India. Probably silver was brought to India after the fall of Babylonia.

Nishka was the coin or medium of exchange in Vedic time. Probably it was in the pre-Vedic days that the gold

coinage originated, as the foreign name of the earliest Vedic coinage will lead us to suppose.

As in other countries it was in the shop of goldsmith that gold, silver and copper coins were struck.

With the downfall of Babylonia, trade with India was transferred from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea. The gold "*sucarṇa*" took its rise in Buddhist India after this fall.

(74)

ĀNDHRA COINAGE AND ITS VALUE

Long before the Āndhras introduced their coinage probably in the third century B.C., the country had an ancient coinage which is even now preserved. Thus "the grain" was the lowest unit. Then, the Guliginta Ginja berry, a red seed, was the next higher weight. Then a Purāṇam (a silver piece) and finally a Suvarṇam (a gold piece) were the next higher weights and coins used in ancient times. There seem to be copper pieces called Paṇams or Kārṣāpaṇams and drammās or dammās in use.

All these ancient coins were either square or oblong pieces on which was stamped the symbol of authority responsible for their correctness and purity. From this method of marking, they are called punch-marked coins. Some of these punch coins contain letters of a legend impressed by a punch. Probably as the art of coinage developed, *the use of punch gave way to that of die*. Some of the Āndhra coins seem to be cast in moulds. As this method was costly, it was given up for the more easy one of die, which was impressed on the metal when it was hot. The lion coins are clearly die-struck coins. It looks probable that as the method of coinage became perfect, the die was applied to both sides, and so the double die-struck

coins are later than the single-die ones. They contain the royal figure and name on one side and various symbols with legends on the other side. This was the final and perfect stage of the Āndhra coinage.

Some of the Āndhra coins found at Ujjain (Malva) show on one side "the cross and balls," and hence such a symbol is called Ujjain symbol. Others discovered by the writer of the present paper at Amrāvati, on the river Kṛṣṇa, the ancient capital of the Āndhras, also bear the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. This fact shows that both the regions were under Āndhra rule. Almost all the coins are of lead with Brāhmī legends on both sides and the devices of lions, elephants, chaityas, etc., on the obverse. The coins vary in size. They are mostly round but a few specimens of square pieces are also found. The latter are really older than the former. Those of "three convexities" rudely representing an elephant and clearly cast in moulds are much older than those of "maneless lions" of the later Āndhra period. The different sizes of the coins and the metals used show that commerce was brisk. Lead, copper, silver and gold were all used for coins. The lowest unit of coinage seems to be the smallest lead coin exhibited. It weighs 35 grains. The weight of the coins exhibited varies from 35 to 280 grains.

The writer next gives the detailed study of a few coins as well as the evidence of the coins and the value to history. He concludes the paper with the following inferences :—

1. Since the Chaitya symbol is also a feature of Chaṣṭana's coins, he may have derived his power from the hands of the Āndhras.
2. The use of Ujjain symbol shows that before the Śaka conquest under Nahapana, Malva and Ujjain were ruled over by Āndhras.

3. The Jogalthumbi hoard clearly proves that Gotamiputra destroyed the Śaka Satraps and restored Sātavāhana rule over the Western and Northern provinces.

4. The coins of the Āndhras are similar to those of the Śaka Kṣatrapas of Malva in fabric and style and it is probable that the latter acted as Viceroys under the Āndhras and as such borrowed their coinage.

5. The lead coinage is rare in India. It is found in the Eastern districts of the Āndhra Empire. Hence the Āndhra kings might have worked the lead mines of Paluad Taluq in Guntur District.

6. Since copper and silver coins are discovered in large hoards in the west, there must have been brisk trade between the western provinces of the Āndhra Empire and European countries.

7. Since the coins are found in the lands extending from Chittaldrug District in Mysore to Malva and sea to sea, their Empire must have comprised the whole territory in its height.

8. The ships coins of the Andhra king Yajña Śrī attest to their great sea power.

9. The Buddhist symbols on the coins clearly prove that the Āndhras were great patrons of Buddhism.

10. The several types, classes and kinds of coins testify to the economic prosperity of the Āndhra Empire.

11. Since their types differ from those of other South Indian dynasties, their coinage belongs to the North and the Āndhras were therefore originally a Northern dynasty.

SOME SOUTH INDIAN GOLD COINS
COINS OF KAVALIYADAVALLI TREASURE-
TROVE CASE

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There are 16 coins, 4 big and 12 small ones, found by some graziers in September, 1921, near the village of *Kavalīyadavalli*, Atmakur Taluk, Nellore District. The following classification of them is based on their size, shape, weight, and the legend and other marks on them.

Class I contains 3 big gold coins of almost the same diameter from .78" to .82" and each 55 grains in weight. The metal is 13 carats fine. They are round-shaped and of Padmatanka type, bearing among various punch marks prominently the symbol "Śrī" in old Telugu-Kannada script. The legend in coin No. 1 reads as *Rāyasa* and a portion of *ma*, in No. 2 as *Yasamu*, and in No. 3 as *Sama*--all put together, giving an intelligible and complete legend "*Rāyasamu*," which ordinarily indicates clerkship. During Vijayanagar period *Rāyasam* was the title of the Viceroys of whom *Rāyasam Kondamarasayya* at Udayagiri was most powerful (Inscription of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, pp. 7-8; and Nellore Inscriptions, pp. 478-479), and was addressed as *Mahārāja* (Nellore Ins., p. 1264), who made in his own name several grants for the salvation of his master. Thus from the legend "*Rāyasamu*" it might appear that he issued these coins. But on paleographical grounds they are to be assigned to an earlier date. Their shape, size, etc., are dissimilar to the extant Vijayanagar type and are more like to those of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī and Telugu Chola chiefs (of Cuddapah and Nellore). But to neither of the latter even can they be ascribed, as they never seem to have enjoyed the title of "*Rāyasamu*."

Ambadeva of the Kāyastha family (Madras Epigraphy Report for 1912, pp. 76-77) was a feudatory of the Kākatīyas. He defeated several Telugu chiefs and overthrew Śrīpati Ganapati. He usurped the Kākatīya throne in the interval between the reigns of Rudrāmba and Pratāpa Rudra Deva. After the overthrow of Śrīpati Ganapati, Ambadeva assumed the title of *Raya-sahasra-malla*. "*Raya-sa-mu*" could be a contraction of his title but for want of cases of such contractions in legends. But upon paleographical grounds these coins should be of the same period as of Ambadeva Mahārāja, before half a century of whom, the Kākatīya coin of class II below, with very much the same shape, size, weight and quality of metal as of these, was current. Hence it may be held that these coins were issued by Ambadeva after the model of earlier coins of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, or it may be that these legends were a second time impressed on the old Western Chālukya coins.

Class II contains but one gold coin, almost round, with a diameter of '81" and weighing 56.25 grains. The metal is 13 or 14 carats fine. It has the symbol Śrī, the top legend "*Kati*" and the bottom legend "*Gaṇa*" in old Telugu script. In interspaces are figures perhaps of a lion or tiger. The reverse like that of the coins of Class I is blank. The short-lived but powerful dynasty of Kākatīya kings had its rise in the beginning of the 12th century, with Ganapati as its greatest king (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 82; Madras Epigraphy Report for 1910, pp. 106 and 107; Indian Antiquary, Vol. 21, p. 197). The find of the inscriptions of this king in Nellore and Guntur Districts, and of those of Pratāpa Rudra Deva, another Kākatīya king, in plenty in the Nellore District points to the presumability of Kavaliyadavalli village being within Kākatīya kingdom. Therefore "*Kati*" and "*Gaṇa*" seem to be contractions of "*Kākatī*" [(goddess) representing "*Kākatīya*" (dynasty)

which is derived from the name of their goddess] and Gaṇapati respectively. The present coin was issued by him between 1199 and 1260 A.C. as may be inferred from inscriptions 181, 196, 213, 220, 194 and 196 of 1905 noted in Madras Report on Epigraphy.

Sir Walter Elliot's statement in his "History of South Indian Coins" about the shape of a bull in the seals of grants or coins of this dynasty is wrong, as they contain a boar with the sun and moon, a cow, etc., but nowhere a bull (Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in Madras Museum, p. 26; Indian Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 200; "Pratāparudrīya" by Vidyānātha, Kāvya-prakaraṇa, verse 10; Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 256). But how lions came to be in Gaṇapati's present coin is a matter for consideration. It is very likely that he accepted coins, that were current before his time and had his own name punched on them to indicate that he recognized them as legal tender. The formation of punch marks on the coin and the fact that a portion of the legend overlaps a portion of the lion show that the legend "*Kati*" and "*Gana*" were punched on old coins of kings who had lions for their emblem.

Class III has 12 gold coins, all round-shaped, with diameters from .4" to .45" and weighing 5.75 grains each. The metal is 13 carats fine. All have the legend "*Śūṅga*" in old Tamil script, with a number below, very likely denoting the regnal year. The reverse has a bow, a tiger and other indistinct symbols. In one, the legend "*Kānchi*," and, in some others, "*Ne*," sometimes inverted, is found in old Tamil script. "*Śūṅga*" denotes the king, and "*Kanchi*" (modern Conjeevaram) and "*Ne*" (contraction of Nellore, since this place also had a mint as is shown by other evidences) stand for the places of issue.

From various other records it is clear that Rājendra or Kulottunga Chola I, adopted as his heir to his throne by Chālukya Rājendra of Vengi, became in 1070 the virtual

ruler of the whole of Chālukya and Chola Empire from Vengi down to the extreme south and continued to rule for at least 50 years. Kavalivadavalli was thus once under his sway. In order to give relief to his subjects who were groaning under heavy taxation he abolished all "Śuṅgam" or taxes on tolls, and thus received from them the appellation of "*Suṅgamtavirtta*" (Inscription No. 377 of 1907, Madras Epigraphy Report). Thus the legend "*Śuṅg*" must be a contraction of this word which means "the abolisher of tolls."

It can be, therefore, safely concluded that the coins in this class were all issued between the years 1070 and 1120 A.C. by Kulottunga Chola I and that they were minted some at Kānchi and others at Nellore.

In weight they are very much equal to other South Indian fanams that we know of. Only these are a bit larger but thinner. Probably these were also called fanams in those days.

(76)

ANCIENT SOUTH INDIAN GOLD COINAGE

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From the coins that have been discovered as Treasure-Trove it is found that the South Indian coins are entirely different from those of the North, and that gold coins of the smallest denomination, with the weight of 5 to 6, $2\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ grains, having some design or the other, on both sides in some cases, and on only one side in others, appear to have been issued to a large extent by kings of old. They are so small that it is very difficult to handle them. They could not be intended for purchasing household articles, etc., on account of the difficulties of preserving and handling them. For such purposes people would have chosen bigger coins

in baser metals, such as silver or copper. Nor could they be used for paying the fines levied by kings, for which the copper *Kārṣāpaṇas* ought to be used according to Manu and Yājñavalkya. So the object of issuing these small coins must have been different.

The payment of the *dakṣiṇā* was a necessary part of Vedic sacrifices. From the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*, *Kāṇḍa I*, *Prapāṭhaka V*, *Anuvaka I*, where the story of Agni and the treasure of the *Devas* won from the *Asuras* is described, we gather that it is very inauspicious to give away silver as *dakṣiṇā*. Therefore in all Vedic ceremonies gold pallets known as *Scarna* were given as *dakṣiṇā*. When coinage was introduced, these *Scarnas* were replaced by coins. Thus religion played a great part in determining the coinage of the country. The kings of old had in their ministers very profound Sanskrit scholars (like Hemādri and Vidyāraṇya), who should have influenced the kings to issue gold coins for the benefit of the people. Kings had minting places and there was a separate establishment for minting coins. In order that gold might be accessible both to the rich and the poor alike, coins of small denominations of $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ fanams were minted and made available for people to enable them to use them in religious ceremonials.

The writer's father had four gold pallets called *Sak-karaipaṇams*, which have unfortunately been lost now.

The account of the coins discovered is as follows :—

1. *Ganga Fanams*. Issued by kings of Kalinganagar. (*Obverse*) Caparisoned bull with crescent moon. (*Reverse*) Sam., 14. W., 5·25; S., 0·3.

Do. ($\frac{1}{8}$ Fanams). (*Ob. and Rev.*) Same. W., 0·75; S., 0·2.

2. *Matsya Fanams*. By the Matsya chiefs of the country round Vaizagapatam. (*Ob.*) Two fish. (*Rev.*) Sam., 12. W., 5·5; S., 0·35.

Do. ($\frac{1}{4}$ Fanams). (*O.*) Same. (*R.*) Sam., 5. W., 1·25; S., 0·25.

3. *Old Fanams*. Found in Trichinopoly and Tinnevely districts. (O.) Crude form of Kali = Sun ☉ moon, etc. (R.) Sun :::: | moon. W., 5'5; S., 0'4.

4. *Vīra-rāya Fanams*. 16 varieties. Found in 14 different districts of Madras Pr. (O.) U and other symbols. (R.) 12 dots, etc. W., 5'6; S., 0'3 to 0'4.

5. *Garuḍa Fanams*. (O.) Flying Garuḍa. (R.) \!/. W. and S. as above.

6. *Nawam Fanams*. (O.) \!/. (R.) Blank or Legend not read. W., 5'25; S., 0'2 to 0'3.

7. *Chola Fanams*. By Kulottunga Chola I. (O.) "Śung" in Tamil script and regnal year. (R.) Tiger, bow, etc. W., 5'5; S., 0'4.

8. *Reddi Fanams*. (O.) Bull, sun, moon and dots. (R.) Goad, whip, sun, moon. W., 5'25; S., 0'25.

Do. ($\frac{1}{4}$ Fanams). (O. and R.) Same. W., 2'5; S.

9. *South Indian Fanams*. (O.) पत्त / प्रधान. (R.) Blank. W., 2'25; S., 0'2.

10. *Do*. (O.) Viṣṇu standing. (R.) ३Man and lamp. W., 5'5; S., 0'27.

Do. ($\frac{1}{4}$ Fanams). (O.) Line-figure. (R.) Circle and angle. W., 1'5; S., 0'2.

11. *Anantaraman Fanams*. By Travancore kings. (O.) Floral design. (R.) Zodiac signs in 12 dots, and lines. W., 5'25; S., 0'3.

(*Anantarama* $\frac{1}{2}$ Fanams). (O. and R.) Same. W., 2'5; S., 0'22.

12. *Dagger Fanams*. (O.) Dagger. (R.) Heart-shaped device, 12 dots, sun and moon. W., 5 to 5'25; S., 0'25 to 0'4.

13. *Śivaji Fanams*. By Śivaji the Great. (O.) छत्र / पति (R.) वि / राज. W., 5'25; S., 0'2.

14. *Rāma-rāya Fanams*. By Rāma Rāja, the second son of Sivaji the Great. (O.) King. (R.) राम / राज. W., 5'25; S., 0'25 to 0'3.

From all these cases quoted above it is clear that the kings of old did issue gold coins even in the lowest denomination. While the *fanams* weighed 5 grains which would then have cost 4 annas, $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ of these would have cost 1 anna and $\frac{1}{2}$ anna respectively.

Even the Moghul Emperors, Aurangzeb, Jahandar Shah, Farrukhsiyar, Muhammad Shah, Ahmad Shah, Alamgir II and Shah Alam II, struck *varahas* and *half fanams* in the mints established at Guti, Imtiyazgarh, Tadpatri (on which new mint a separate paper is to appear in the Numismatic Supplement to the J.A.S.B.), and Cuddapah. These issues are peculiar to South India and were not struck for use in Northern India. These should evidently have been struck to satisfy the needs of the South Indian People.

Half Fanams. (O.) Name of Emperor. (R.) Name of Mint town and year (A.H.). W., 2·5; S., 0·2.

(77)

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PARAMĀRA RULERS OF MĀLVA.

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Among the several Rājput kingdoms into which India was parcelled out in the medieval times the Paramāras of Mālvā were an important one specially because the kings in the line were great patrons of learning and sometimes very learned people themselves. An attempt is made in this article to present their chronology with the help of *all* their *inscriptions* so far discovered *and* their dates found in several *Mss.*

Their chronology stands thus :—

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Vikrama Samvat.</i>
1. Upendra (Kṛṣṇarāja), founder of the line.	950—975
2. Vairisimha ...	975—1000
3. Sīyaka (Harṣa) ...	1000—1030
4. Vākpati (Muñja) ...	1030—1052
<i>Śobhita, Chāhamān king, usurped the throne for some time in the reign of Vākpati.</i>	
5. Sindhurāja ...	1052—1056
6. Bhoja ...	1056—1111
7. Jayasimha ...	1111—1116
8. Udayāditya ...	1116—1144
9. Lakṣmadeva ...	1144—1150
10. Naravarman ...	1150—1190
11. Yaśovarman* ...	1190—1199
12. Jayavarman ...	1199 (a few months)
13. Ajayavarman (<i>alias</i> Ballāla ?).	1200—1205
14. Vindhyavarman ...	1205—1235
15. Subhaṭavarman ...	1235—1260
16. Arjunavarman ...	1260—1274
17. Devapāla ...	1274—1294
18. J a y a t u g i d e v a (Jayasimha II).	1294—1314
19. Jayavarman II ...	1314—1324

* After the death of Yaśovarman his son Jayavarman succeeded him. But the latter was probably imprisoned by his younger brother Ajayavarman who usurped the kingdom. But a third son of Yaśovarman named Lakṣmīvarman sided with Jayavarman and founded a parallel line. He was succeeded by his son Hariścandra-varman, and the latter by his son Udayavarman. Udayavarman's younger brother Devapāladeva succeeded Arjunavarman in the main line.

Names.	<i>Vikrama Samvat.</i>
20. Jayasimha III ...	1324—1342
21. Arjunavarman II...	1342—1348
22. Bhoja II ...	1348—1360
23. Jayasimha IV ...	1360—1375

(78)

CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHAULUKYA RULERS OF GUJARAT

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Some Prabandhas (*i.e.*, from among Prabandha-cintāmaṇi = P, Vicāraśreṇī = V, Sukṛtasankīrtana = S, Dvyāśrayakāvya = D, and Kumārapālprabandha = K) and Jaina-paṭṭāvalis give the chronology of the Gujarāt Chaulukyas with their capital at Anahilapāṭana ; but after critical examination sometimes their dates, differently given by different Mss., are found to be false. The inscriptions of the family and colophons of Mss., especially of Jaina writers, shed genuine light on the question of settling such dates.

1. The founder of the Chaulukya family is unanimously said to be Mūlarāja who killed the Chāvḍā king and usurped his throne. 1017 (V.S.) is the date of this event according to V, Bombay Gazetteer, and R. B. G. H. Ojha (History of Rajputana, in Hindi, Vol. I, p. 214) ; while it is 998 (V.S.) according to S, P, and some Jaina Paṭṭāvalis. The latter tallies with the recently found inscription of Bhima I at Sāmbar, Jodhpur State (Ann. Rep. of Sardar Museum, Jodhpur, 1924-25). Hence 998 (V.S.) is correct. His death according to a copy of P took place in 1050 (V.S.). But his inscription of 1051 (Ep. Ind., X, 76) points to the credibility of some Prabandhas about his 55 years' rule, which thus terminated in 1053.

2. Next came his son Chāmundaṛāja, who, according to P, rules for 13 years, *i.e.*, from 1053 to 1066.

3. Chāmundaṛāja's son Vallabharāja is mentioned in all inscriptions ; while V omits his name. According to D he died before his father. But P says that he ruled (though only for 5 months and 12 days). This may be accepted as true in conformity with the inscriptions.

4. Vallabharāja's younger brother Durlabharāja ruled for $11\frac{1}{2}$ (P) or 12 (V) years, *i.e.*, from 1066 to 1078. No inscriptions of Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are found.

5. Next, Vallabharāja's son Bhimadeva I ruled according to P for 52 years from Tuesday Jyestha Śu. 12, 1077 ; but according to V for 42 years, *i.e.*, 1078—1120. His inscriptions date between 1086 (Ind. Ant., VI, 193) and 1119 (Ep. Ind., X, 148).

6. Bhīma's son Karṇa I began to rule according to P on Monday, Caitra Śukla 7, 1120, and died according to P, V and S in 1150. He was killed by King of Śākambar (Hammīra-mahākāvya). His inscriptions are dated between 1131 V.S.=996 Śāke (J.B.B.R.A.S, XXVI, 250) and 1148 (Ep. Ind., I, 317).

7. Karṇa's son (Siddharāja) Jayasimha was according to P anointed on Saturday, Pauṣa Kṛṣṇa 3, 1150, and succeeded by Kumārapāla on Sunday, Kārtika Kṛṣṇa 2, 1199. But his inscription of 1200 (Ep. Ind., XI 32,) disproves the latter year. Tod's date of him is 1150—1201 (R. A. S., Volume I, p. 222). 1160 is his earliest historical date (Peterson's Rep. Skt. Mss. V, 59). Thus he ruled 1150—1200.

8. Kumārapāla, grandson of Karṇa's brother Kṣemendra, ruled according to K for 30 years 8 months and 5 days ; but according to P for 31 years, dying in 1230. The latter is disproved by his successor Ajayapāla's inscription of Vaiśākha Śu. 3, 1229 (Ind. Ant., XVIII, 344), and so he died before this date. His inscriptions date from 1202

(Bhāvanagar Ins., p. 158) to Monday, Mārga. Su. 13, 1228 (Ep. Ind., XI, 48). Thus he ruled 1200—1229.

9. Ajayapāla, the son of Kumārapāla's younger brother Mahīpāla, ruled according to Prabandhas for 3 years. His historical dates range between the above-mentioned Vaiśākha Su. 3, 1229, and Caitra Su. 1 (Tuesday), 1232 (Bhāndārkar's Rep. Skt. Mss. 1880-81, p. 32, Ms. of Mohaparājaya Nāṭaka). Thus he ruled 1229—1232.

10. His son Mūlarāja II is stated in some Prabandhas to have been succeeded in 1235 by Bhīma II, whose inscription of the same date (now being published in Ep. Ind.) is found at Kirāḍu in Mārwaḍ. But Dr. H. H. Dhruva in his book "Barda Delegates, etc. (p. 126), refers to an inscription of 1234, now untraceable. We can, however, suppose that he ruled only for two years, *i.e.*, 1232—1234.

11. Bhīma II, probably Mūlarāja's younger brother, according to Prabandhas ruled from 1235 to 1298. His inscriptions date between 1234 *or* 1235 (*as stated above*) and 1296 (Ind. Ant., VI, 217). His successor Tribhuvanapāla's inscription of 1299 (Ind. Ant., VI, 208), along with these facts means that Bhīma ruled 1234—1298.

From a copper-plate inscription of 1280 (Ind. Ant., VI, 196), one Jayantasiṃha appears to be a Chaulukya noble and general who usurped his master Bhīma's throne before 1280, but was removed by Lavanaprasāda and his son Vīradhavalā, of the Vāghela-Chaulukya family, who re-instated Bhīma in his kingdom.

12. Tribhuvanapāla, perhaps not a direct descendant of Bhīma, seems to have ruled for two years, *i.e.*, 1298—1300. His only inscription of 1299 is referred to above.

13. Vīsaladeva, son of the above Vīradhavalā, ruling at Dholkā from 1294 as the feudatory of the Gujarāt sovereign like his father and grandfather, usurped the kingdom in 1300 by superseding all the nobles who were trying to usurp Bhīma's throne. The dates of his rule at

Aṇahilapāṭana fall in between 1303 (Peterson's Rep. Skt. Mss., 1882-83, p. 40) and 1317 (Ind. Ant., VI, 210). According to Prabandhas he ruled for 18 years. Kāṇṭelā inscription of his successor Arjunadeva is dated Jyeṣṭha Su. 4, 1320 (Buddhiprakāśa—Guj.—1915). So he ruled 1300—1318.

14. Arjunadeva, the son of Visaladeva's elder brother Pratāpamalla, ruled according to a Jain Paṭṭāvalī for 13 years, but according to some Prabandhas from 1320 to 1332. His inscriptions are dated from 1320 (as shown above) to Vaiśākha Su. 15, 1330 (Mythical Society's Journal, XIV, 242). Sāraṅgadeva's inscription of Mārga. Su. 11 (Saturday), 1332 (Ind. Ant., XXI, 277), taken along with two other inscriptions of 1354 (Buddhiprakāśa—Guj.—1910, Nos. 11 and 12) and 1352 (Prācīna Jaina Lekha Saṁgraha—Guj.—No. 449) which both show that Rāmadeva ruled for a short time before his younger brother Sāraṅgadeva, leads us to infer that Arjunadeva ruled 1318—1331, and

15. Rāmadeva ruled 1331-1332.

16. Sāraṅgadeva's inscriptions are dated between 1332 (as shown above) and 1352 (a Cambay inscription). But the colophon of a Tikā on Naiṣadha Kāvya refers to his rule in 1353 (Bhādra Su. 13). His successor Karṇa's inscription of 1354 (referred to above) enables us to fix Sāraṅgadeva's rule between 1332 and 1354, as also corroborated by V.

17. Karṇa II, son of Rāmadeva, was ruling at Pāṭana in 1360 according to a Jaina Paṭṭāvalī (Purātattva—Guj.—I, 63). His earliest inscription of 1354 is already mentioned above. The date of another inscription (now being published in Ep. Ind.) can only be read as 135+. We shall, therefore, suppose that Karṇa ruled from 1354 to 1360.

Ulg Khan, younger brother of Alauddin Khilji, invaded Gujarāt in about 1356, defeated the king and seized the province completely in about 1361. The Chaulukya dynasty which reigned at Pāṭana for 362 years was thus brought to an end.

STUDIES IN THE THREE KERALA ERAS

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There have been current in Kerala three eras—(1) the Perumāl Abda, (2) the Kolla Varṣa, and (3) the Putu-Vaippu. Of these the first exists only in name, and the last has become obsolete, while the second alone is in current use. The first was, and the second is, an all-Kerala era, while the last is only a Cochin era. Since these eras are not found used outside Kerala, and since no other era is found used here, these are pure Kerala or Malayali eras.

I. The Perumāl Abda

This era has been preserved for us through the solicitous care of the local astrologers entrusted with the work of preparing calendars. The Kali chronogram, giving the date of the origin of this era, shows that this must have been begun in April, 427 A.D. It has thus completed one thousand four hundred and ninety-nine years on the 12th April, 1926. It appears possible that this became superseded, when the Kolla Varṣa was introduced in 825 A.D.

The Kali chronogram, "SVARGAM SADEHAḤ PRĀPA," may be interpreted to suggest that the inauguration of this era commemorates a political event of no small importance. In other words, it may be taken to mean that the era marks a new order of things in Kerala politics which consisted in substituting in place of the Perumāl's sovereignty the overlordship of the Perumpaṭappu Muppil, *i.e.*, His Highness the Mahārāja of Cochin, and in creating a number of small kingdoms owing allegiance to the new overlord. Tradition supports such a view and the Portuguese records, as far as they are available, substantiate it. The overlordship of Cochin may have been feudal in character and nominal in exercise.

This era, therefore, appears to have been a political era.

II. *Kolla Varṣa*

The Malayālam Era, as this era is commonly called, was begun in September, 824 A.D., and is in current use even now. The traditional view of its origin is that it commemorates the various social changes introduced by the venerable Jagat Guru Śrī Śankarāchārya. There is no argument, historical or otherwise, which necessitates the discarding of this view.

The difference of a month in the use of this era that is observable may be explained on the assumption that while the southerners began it from the first of the month on which the proclamation was issued, that is, with retrospective effect, the northerners began it only from the date on which it came into operation. Be it noted that the Royal Proclamation, giving the new social changes the seal of authority, was issued on Thursday, the 31st Chingom 1 M.E., as is clear from the chronogram, "ĀCĀRYAVĀGABHEDYAH."

This era marks a new social order. The period of the venerable Guru was a period of great turmoil and unrest in Kerala. There were a number of religions prevalent in the land, and the social life of the mass must necessarily have been characterised by a host of divergent forms and rituals, customs and manners, producing a very complex and confused social order. The reorganisation of the heterogeneous elements of the existing society into an ordered, interrelated and homogeneous whole is the work achieved by and ascribed to the venerable Ācārya. This reorganisation which is to a very great extent responsible for all the achievements of the Malayālis deserves commemoration, and it is done by the inauguration of the Kolla Varṣa.

The Kolla Varṣa, therefore, may be taken as a social era, whereas the Perumāl Abda was a political one. The seal of authority for the social changes and consequently for

the era must have been given by the highest spiritual authority of the land, the All-Kerala Suzerain, Perumpaṭappu Mūppil, who in 824 might have been holding his court at Quilon.

III. *The Putu-Vaippu Era.*

This Era which was inaugurated in Chingom 517 M.E., *i.e.*, August, 1341, was current only in mid-Kerala, *i.e.*, that portion of the country which was under the direct sway of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin. This continued to be in popular use till about the close of the 17th century.

It is generally believed that this era commemorates the throwing up of an island, now known as Vaippin. There are some difficulties in the way of accepting this view. Since this era is also known as the Cochin Era, it must have been inaugurated to commemorate the transfer of the Imperial Head Quarters of the "King of Cochin" from Cranganore to Cochin,—a transfer which was necessitated by the closing up of the former, and the throwing open of the latter, harbour, and by the continued invasion of the aggressive Zamorin.

This, therefore, like the Perumāl Abda is a political era.

(80)

TOWN-PLANNING AND HOUSE-BUILDING IN ANCIENT INDIA ACCORDING TO ŚILPASĀSTRAS

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(*Vizianagram*).

Architecture is one of the sixty-four Kalās. There was high development in this art. The description of the underground tunnel in the Mahā-ummagga Jātaka was not an imaginary one. The Purāṇas and Āgamas treat of temple architecture—Śilparatna, Mayamata and other professed

works on architecture—Mayamata, earlier than the Śilpa-ratna—A Ms. of Sanatkumāravāstu—The measurements used in these works—The preliminary religious observances—The site for a building and its choice—Town-planning in Ancient India—The indication of literature and the Śilpaśāstras about the orderly character of ancient cities—The details contained in the Śilpaśāstras on this subject—The Daṇḍaka and other arrangements of the villages—The different ways of town-planning according to the different writers—House-building—The arrangement of the doors—The arrangement of the rooms—The royal palace and its arrangement.

(81)

IDENTIFICATION OF FOUR BUDDHIST IMAGES IN THE BARODA MUSEUM

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The four images under discussion are deposited now in the Baroda Museum. The first three are specimens of Newari art while the fourth is Tibetan in character. The first three are about 300 years old while the fourth appears to be of very recent origin. They are, as usual, all copper-gilt images which are generally met with in Nepal and Sikkim.

No. 1 represents a god peaceful in appearance and sitting in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude in token of meditation. He is endowed with four arms out of which the two principal ones are clasped together against the breast in forming the Añjali or the Sarvarājendra Mudrā. The other two hands show the rosary in the right and the lotus in the left.

No. 2 represents a male god sitting in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude with two hands placed one upon the

other on the lap with a bowl placed on them. This deity is also mild and peaceful in appearance.

No. 3 represents a fierce deity with protruding tongue, canine teeth, hair rising upwards in the shape of a flame and garland of heads. He stands in the Ardhaparyāṅka in a dancing attitude. He is four-armed and carries in the two principal hands the Kartrī and the Kapāla while the other two bears the Damaru in the right and the Khaṭvāṅga surmounted by a Trisūla in the left.

The fourth image is also a fierce god dancing in Ardhaparyāṅka attitude with three blood-shot eyes and garland of heads. He is two-armed and carries the Vajra in the right hand and the Kapāla in the left while a Khaṭvāṅga rests against his shoulder.

These four images are identified with the help of a Sanskrit Buddhist text of rituals entitled the *Sādhana-mālā* where we meet with descriptions which correspond with the images described above. The earliest Ms. of the *Sādhana-mālā*, available up till now, bears a Newari date which corresponds to A.D. 1165. This being one of the most authoritative texts we may take the identifications as certain. The result of identification is as follows:—

No. 1 is identified with Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara who is also described in the Kāraṇḍavyūha which is devoted to the praise of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. This variety of Lokeśvara is represented either singly or as accompanied with Maṇidhara and Ṣaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā, the latter being deification of the six-syllabled formula Om-Mani-Padmo-Hum.

No. 2 is identified with a form of Mañjuśrī who is indifferently called Vāk, Vajrarāga Mañjuśrī or Dharmasaṅkhasamādhi. Mañjuśrī being the Buddhist God of Learning is widely worshipped in all Buddhist countries which are Mahāyānic in character.

No. 3 represents Buddhakapāla, a variety of the famous Buddhist god Heruka. Buddhakapāla is represented in

art either singly or in Yab-yum in the embrace of his Śakti Citrasenā. The image under discussion is single and hence very rare.

No. 4 is Heruka himself to whom several Tantras are ascribed. He belongs to the family of the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya and is widely represented in art, and his worship is extremely popular, especially in Nepal and Tibet.

The images agree in most important points with the descriptions given in the Sādhanaś and this paper illustrates the abundant supply of materials in the Sādhanamālā for the identification of Buddhist images. The first volume of this work has been published by me in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series while the second and the concluding volume is likely to be published in the course of about three months.

(82)

SLOW PROGRESS OF ISLAM POWER IN ANCIENT INDIA

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History of India—three divisions : (1) Hindu India, (2) Muhammadan India, and (3) British India. In the first period all foreigners were hinduised. About the second epoch the most important question is : at what different times did the Muhammadan invaders penetrate India, and when and how did they obtain a footing ?

V. Smith's *Oxford History of India* causes to explain this phenomenon (Muslim stronger ; helped by fanaticism, Hindus' strategy and tactics old-fashioned, etc.).

Elphinstone thinks it extraordinary that the Arabs though they had conquered Sindh early enough did not overrun India proper as early as they did Persia. It is

incontestable that Muslims did not gain a footing in India proper before 1192 A.D. (although their conquest of Sindh was in 712 A.D.). Why is this gap of more than 450 years? This period is divided into two: First ends with the supremacy of the Pratihāras and the other with the second battle of Tarain.

First Period.—After Mahommad, son of Kasim, came Junaid to reconquer Sindh and sent armies to Marmad, Maṇḍal, Dahnaj and Barus. One army against Uzain. He in person conquered Bhilmāl and Gurjara. But army against Ujjain repulsed by Nāgabhaṭṭa I (first ruler of Imperial Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj) (Sagar Tal stone inscription). Another army of Arabs after several conquests stemmed back by a mere chieftain, Avanijanāśraya Pulakesi (Nausārī copper plate grant). Then Yavanas and Gandhāras own allegiance to Kanauj (Khālimpur charter of Dhannapāla—beginning of the 9th century). These Yavanas Muslims of Multan and Gandhāras Turkish Shāhiyas. Sulaiman (851 A.D.) records that Gurjara Indian prince had a fine cavalry. Al-Masudi (943 A.D.) informs us that Gurjara king of Kanauj was at war with the Muslim principality of Multan and the Rashtrakūṭa king of Mānyakhēṭa. The Pratihāras more than a match for the rulers of Multan but the latter had the image of Sūrya in their principality and threatened its destruction if they were molested. Thus Muslim policy of iconoclasm guided by temporal considerations also. Thus for two centuries Arabs kept at bay by two Imperial families of Kanauj.

Second Period.—Things changed with the decline of Pratihāra supremacy. Smith's reason of deficient skill in warfare contested. Soon after 950 A.D. the fabric of Gurjara Empire broke up. A Moslem power also sprung up at Ghazna. Mahmūd's invasions left the East Punjāb and middle country open to constant depredations (records of Hindu families of Gāhaḍavāla). Govindachandra defeats

Hammir twice, levies a poll-tax (Turushka-danḍa) on Muslim settlers. This tax was abolished by Jayachandra, he wanted Muslim help against Chāhamāna House.

Evidence of Chāhamāna records (chiefly Prithvīrāja-vijaya) shows that successive kings defeated Muslim chiefs in many battles and Vīsaladeva (Delhi pillar inscription, 1164 A.D.) exterminated mlecchas. *Lalita Vighraharāja*—a drama discovered in Ajmer—refers to similar feats by Vighraharāja against Hammir. A record of Prithvīrāja II (found at Hānsī) tells of precautions (successful) against aggressions of Muslims of the western Punjāb.

Things different in the time of Prithvīrāja III. Several invasions of Shihabuddin Ghori repulsed by his chieftains while he was still a minor (Naḍōl and Kayadra). Battle of Tarain in 1191 when Shihabuddin's greatest army met the Rajput confederacy under Prithvīrāj and sustained a heavy defeat. The Rajputs did not follow up the victory by any merciless pursuit and this was the main cause of their defeat next year at the same field. Prithvīrāj captured and killed, and in 1194 Jayachandra also met the same fate. Whole Northern India thus came under Mohamedan sway because no independent principalities existed.

Whole period contains overwhelming evidence of Rajput bravery. Their defeats due to accident or overconfidence.

(83)

THE DATE OF SHIVAJI'S BIRTH

C. V. VAIDYA

The new date of Shivaji's birth, 19th February, 1630 (Phalgun Vad. 3, S. 1551) is given in (1) Śiva Bhārata, a Sanskrit poem on the exploits of Shivaji written about 1670 A.D., by Shivaji's order or permission, published by Mr. S. M. Divekar of Kalyan, being discovered at Tanjore from its

mention in Burnell's catalogue of Tanjore Sanskrit Library ; (2) Jedhe Śakāvali or memorandum of dates kept in the Jedhe family which stood steadfastly by Shivaji and his successors, written up to 1694 A.D., and first published by Lokamanya Tilak ; (3) The Brihadīśvara Inscription recorded on stone in 1809 A.D. at Tanjore and brought to notice by V. K. Rajwade and published by Sambamurtirao in 1907 A.D., and (4) a horoscope of Shivaji recorded in a collection of horoscopes made by Shivram Astrologer up to 1720 A.D. and discovered by Rao Bahadur Gauri Shankar Ojha. These four documents found at such divergent places, by such noted persons, afford no room for suspicion, or collusion, and they apparently were prepared officially or from official papers. These facts made this new date more reliable than the hitherto accepted one given by Grant Duff from Bakhars, *viz.*, April, 1627 (Vaishakh Shudha 2, S. 1549). The oldest Bakhar of Shivaji by Sabhasad (1694 A.D.) gives no date for Shivaji's birth. The other Bakhars which give the old date belong to a much later period, commencing as they do from 1780 A.D., *i.e.*, a hundred years after Shivaji's death, and coming down to 1854 A.D. And they hopelessly jumble the events of the time by making Shahaji run away in 1627 A.D. from Mahuli pursued by Jadhavarao and abandoning his pregnant wife on the way ; for Shahaji left Mahuli in 1636 A.D., and Jadhavarao already murdered in 1631 A.D. could not be at Mahuli. The Bakharkars had some faint idea of these events and bring them in for explaining how Shivaji came to be born on the fort of Shivneri. The Śiva Bhārata account is more probable as it states that Vishwasrao, keeper of Shivneri fort under Nizamshah, gave his daughter in marriage to Sambhaji, elder son of Shahaji, that the marriage was performed on the fort, and that Shahaji leaving his pregnant wife there went (being then in the service of Nizamshah) against Daryakhan, a Mogul Sardar. The account of Śiva Bhārata is more consistent with the march of events as detailed by

Mahomedan writers and is more probable than the account given by the Bakhars about the birth of Shivaji at Shivneri. The new date does not make Shivaji's early career improbable by making him too young. The story of the early life of Shivaji given by Śiva Bhārata is different from the hitherto accepted account which, we are of opinion, will have to be consequently re-written. According to it, Shivaji lived with his father and mother at different places, such as, Shivneri, Mahuli, Vijapur and Bangalore and was sent finally in his 12th year to Poona where he was set up by Shahaji in separate enjoyment of the jaghir (which was also transferred to his name as Mokasdar) in about 1642 A.D. Shivaji who had learnt reading and writing at Bangalore from 1636 to 1642 studied from 1642 to 1646 A.D. Mahābhārata, Ramāyana, Rājanīti or politics and military exercises at Poona under able teachers. He began his conquering career by seizing Kondhana and other forts about 1646, *i.e.*, in the 16th year of his age according to the new date; which is not strange, when we consider how precocious princes of ability and strong character like Harsha and Akbar commenced their glorious career at that age. We indeed find many Peshwas also. Patwardhan, Bhonsales and other Sardars sent to lead armies at the age of 12, (Rajwade, Khand I, Note, p. 143), Indian princes like Mahmūd of Gazani and Aurangzeb and Sambhaji, son of Shahaji * in past time began their political and military career much earlier than princes did in the West or do now.

* Aurangzeb attacked a fighting elephant at the age of 12 or 14; and Sambhaji, eldest son of Shahaji, fought with Shahistekhan at Junnar in 1635-6 A.D., when he was about 12 years old—Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 54.

THE RUINS OF ANGKOR

GAURANGANATH BANERJI, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.S.A.

In some uncertain epochs, Angkor was one of the glories of the world, inhabited by the Khmers. Probably in Alexander's time some people from India emigrated and settled there. Later Buddhistic influence transformed their temples into Chaityas and Viharas.

A short account of the present remains is given:

The earliest known record of Angkor is found in the work of an anonymous Chinese diplomat who, in 1295, was sent to Tambodia (kingdom of Chin-La). His book was translated by M. Abel-Remusat. The discovery of the ruins of Angkor is stated by Christoval de Jaque who, in 1606, published an account of his travels in Indo-China between 1592—98. Five years before de Jaque's work, Ribade-neyra also notices these ruins. In 1672 there is another mention by Pere Chevrue. From these accounts it appears that the place was as ruined then as now.

The features of the Khmers as represented on the monuments are distinctly Hindu.

The origin of the Khmer art is discussed. The extent of Hindu influence is assessed. A short account of the styles used in the art on the temples—chiefly the Bayon—is given.

SITUATION OF RĀVAṆA'S LAMKĀ:
ON THE EQUATOR

V. H. VADER, B.A., LL.B.

I. We propose to submit in this paper a new theory regarding the situation of Lamkā. This theory is supported by more weighty and reliable evidence collected from our ancient Sanskrit texts especially Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa.

II. This is the fourth theory on the subject, the former three being—

- (i) Prof. Jacobi of Bonn propounded that Lamkā was situated somewhere in Assam.
- (ii) Sardār Mādhav Rao Kibesāheb of Indore holds that Lamkā was located on a peak of the Amarkantak mountains in Central India.
- (iii) Western Oriental Scholars including Prof. Dowson hold that Lamkā was in Ceylon.

III. Our theory may be summed up as follows :—

Lamkā was the capital of the big island known as the Rākṣasa Dwīpa in ancient times and situated in the midst of the Southern Ocean. This island was situated on the equator or the middle part of the earth. The distance between the southern extremity of India and the Rākṣasa Dwīpa was a hundred yojans, *i.e.*, about 700 miles.

IV. Our theory is supported by the following evidence :—

- (i) Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, Ch. 51 and Sabhāparva.
- (ii) Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Ch. 58, verses 20 to 29.
- (iii) Shrimat Bhāgawata, Sk. V, Ch. 19, verses 28 to 30.
- (iv) Br̥hat Samhitā by Varāha Mihirācārya, Ch. XIV, verses 11 to 15.
- (v) Bāla Rāmāyaṇa Nāṭaka by Rāja Śekhara, Act III and Act X.
- (vi) Vāyu Purāṇa, Bhuvana Vinayāsa, Chapter 48.
- (vii) Golādhyāya by Bhaskarācārya, Bhuvana-kosha, verse 17.
- (viii) Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, Sarga 41, verses 15 to 18 and 19, 20, 23 and 24.
- (ix) Do., Sarga 60, verse 7.

- (x) The Beginnings of South Indian History by Dr. S. Krishna Swamy Aiyangar, pp. 63 and 68.
- (xi) Prof. Nundo Lal Dey—Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India (2nd Edition) under the word Lamkā.
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(86)

INDIANS AND ELEPHANTS IN EARLY WESTERN WARFARE

Hon'ble C. A. KINCAID.

Indians present as Mahouts in almost every great western battle between 323 B.C. and 56 B.C. Alexander realised the value of elephants in war in his battle on the Hydaspes and collected elephants. His successors made greater and greater use of them. Perdicas could not turn them to good account against Ptolemy. Antigonos in his war against Lysimachos and Seleucus used 75 elephants, but the superior and more numerous animals, ridden by Indian Mahouts, which Seleucus had received from Chandragupta routed his army and ultimately caused his overthrow. Antiochus I, son of Seleucus, used well-trained elephants under Indian Mahouts with great success against Gauls. Pyrrhus and following him the Carthaginians used elephants. New animals could not be had from India but Mahouts could be. The Ptolemies and the Carthaginians had Nubian elephants trained by Indians. Elephants saved the Carthaginians in 256 B.C., when the victorious Regulus was defeated and taken prisoner. Hannibal used them in his campaign against Rome. And Julius Cæsar routed an entire British army near London with the help of a single elephant, driven by an Indian Mahout.

THE ART OF WAR

(AS PRACTISED IN SOUTH INDIA)

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Literature of a people discloses their springs of thought and action. History of South India in pre-historic periods is largely taken from Tamil literature. Whether Dravidians are a distinct race from the Aryan is much disputed, yet taken for granted for this paper.

In Tamil literature no systematic treatises as in Sanskrit on art and science of war—only such work is *multum in parvo*. But passages in the classics of Śāṅgam age give some insight. Before the advent of Dravidians, South India was inhabited by nomadic and wild tribes, probably offshoots of Nagas. These were very brave and were on occasions employed by Dravidian kings. No warrior caste as such in Dravidian India.

Occasions of War—Many, *e.g.*, non-payment of tribute by vassals, refusal to give daughters in marriage, cattle-lifting (some take it to be a semi-civilised state of society but *cf.* Mahābhārata), political object—thus Dravidians actuated by higher motives.

The Army Corps—Army led by the king seated on a chariot under a white umbrella; fourfold army like Aryans, drawn from all castes and tribes, even Brahmanas.

Stages of an expedition—Eight, named after the flowers worn as badges by the soldiers. Fully illustrated in the battle of Kalingam led by General Karuṇākaran on behalf of Chola king against king of Kalinga on his failure to pay tribute.

Defences—Constant war with robber chiefs or independent chieftains, hence for defence fortresses strongly built with ditches, trenches, rampart walls, etc. Regular sieges; sometimes earthen works miles long and as high as 40 ft.

Thus favourable comparison with similar things mentioned in the Arthaśāstra.

Institution of Spies and Ambassadors—Ambassadors well chosen and sagacious ; any insult to them was highly avenged. System of espionage was used successfully, but the king was to be very careful about their reports.

Curiosities and other features of War—Consultation of auguries, worship of war-goddess Korravai, song and dance ; celebrating victory with drink. Heroic ladies on funeral pyres with dead husbands, mothers ready to cut off their breasts if their sons fled from battle or obtained wounds on back ; bards accompanying armies to excite enthusiasm and priests to shower blessings.

Naval Warfare—Passages in Tamil literature, as well as inscriptions in Southern India fully bear out great maritime activity and expeditions by Dravidian kings.

Ethics of War—Dravidian people essentially martial people and hence courted opportunities for war. They did not practise *sāma*, *dāna* and *bhēda* before resorting to war. Sometimes bards successfully mediated. Dravidians' treatment of the vanquished far from human generally, though stray cases of kind treatment are found. Righteous practices in war not general ; later code of morals of war is probably a borrowing from Sanskrit works and Aryan culture.

(88)

A SHORT NOTE ON THE NĀGAS

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(Professor, National College, Trichinopoly).

The Nāgas were a non-Aryan people inhabiting India from even R̥gvedic times (*cf.* Vṛtra mentioned as a serpent). The epics mention them ; Janamejaya avenged on them for

killing his father. Originally the Nāgas seemed to have been confined to the north-west of India but they later spread through the whole of North India. Four Nāga groups at the present day : I. Nāga Bodo (Kaccha and Kabni); II. Western Nāgas (Angamis, Kezamas, Rengmas and Semas); III. Central Nāgas (Ao, Lhotas, etc.); IV. Eastern Nāgas or Nāga-Kuki (Mao and Tangkhub). The Nāgas are mentioned in the Buddhist Scriptures and also in the Purāṇas, etc., as a semi-mythological people. There were also Southern Nāgas, probably more refined than their Northern conquerors and their capital seems to have been in Bhogavatī. Various physiological and other details are given of these people in the Tamil texts. Compare also the Mahābalipuram inscription of Rājendra Chola. Tamil literature divides the Nāgas into Maravar, Eyinar, Oliyar, Oviyar, Aruvālar and Paratavar and gives many details about them. The Mahāvamśa also affords us help. Nāga princesses accepted in marriage by other chiefs from Arjuna down to historical times testifies to the beauty of Nāga women. The Nāgas seem therefore to have been an important people.

(89)

THE ANCIENT TAMILS AND THE NAGAS

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI
(*Madras*).

The Geography of the Tamil land—Racial elements in the population—Nagas and Tamils connected in literary tradition—Theories as to the origin of the Nagas—Filiation of the Nagas of the South—Present-day relics of the Naga element—The Nagas and their connection with serpents—Whether the Nagas of the South were civilised or primitive?—Mr. M. Srinivasa Iyengar on the Nagas

of the South—Their fusion with the Dravidian Tamils—The Negroid element in the Nagas—The Naga tribes in the Tamil land: the Maravar, the Eyinar, etc.; the Oliyar; the Oviyar; were they of North Ceylon?—The Nagas of Māntai: they of Māvīlangai—The Nagas in North and West Ceylon—The Naga kingdom in Nagadipa—The Nagas and Buddhistic tradition—Tamil confirmation of the tradition—The Nagas in the Chola region—The Chola connection with the Nagas—The Pallavas and the Nagas—Submersion of Naga and Tamil lands under the sea—Conclusion.

(90)

THE TAMIL KINGS AND THEIR GOVERNMENT

PANDIT N. CHENGALVARAYAN

(*Malleswaram, Bangalore*).

Frontispiece—Three Maps:

- (1) South India at the Sangam Period.
- (2) Eastern Coast of Tamil Country.
- (3) Western Coast of Tamil Country.

1. Introduction.
2. Topography of the Tamil Country.
3. Trade and Commerce.
4. Races and Tribes.
5. Three Dynasties of Kings
(Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas).
6. Feudal Chiefs.

7. Some Features of Ancient South Indian Polity:

(a) Social Life, (b) System of Government, (c) Constitution and Administration, (d) Justice, (e) Public Works, (f) Town-planning, (g) Organisation of some important Corporations and Guilds.

8. South Indian Culture :

- (a) Early Literature and Art.
- (b) Religion and Philosophy.

9. Conclusion.—From the accounts given in the article it will be seen that the Tamils were a highly civilised nation settled in the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula. The Tamils were proud in saying that Tamil, their language, was the 'southern tongue.' The Tamil kings conquered and acquired the land and appointed princes of their race to look after the portions of the conquered territory as they were unable to bestow their attention personally. They were self-confident and were proud of their nationality. They became wealthy by agricultural development, improvement of commerce and industries, and they lived securely in peace and prosperity. The higher classes displayed their wealth by putting on gaudy dresses and costly jewels and ornaments. The Tamils were lover of nature in that they had a passion for planting of trees on roadsides and setting apart some portion of their frontage for garden-growing. Their demeanour was always courteous and noble; they were loyal to their sovereign and exhibited their martial spirit by fighting on the side of their rulers; they were also of charitable disposition; the needy and the sufferer were always taken care of by them. Above all they were truthful and righteous, being very God-fearing by nature.

It will not be out of place to make an humble appeal to all lovers of Tamil literature to espouse its cause and bring it back to its pristine glory which it was once occupying under the Tamil kings.

ŚRI MAGARADHVAJA JOGI 700

RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B.A.

(Retd. Dy. Commissioner, Jubbulpore, C.P.).

This name with a mysterious number 700 almost invariably attached to it was found by various archæologists inscribed on temples and idols scattered over a vast area lying between Baijnath close to the Ganges in the North and Bhairamgarh in the Bastar State bordering on the Godavari in the South, and Chitorgarh in the North-west to Katak in the East, covering the whole of the Central Provinces and parts of Bihar, Orissa, Central India and Rajputana. It occurs on temples at Markanda and Chural in the Chanda District, Potinar and Bhairamgarh in the Bastar State, Khurda near Katak, Baijnath in Bihar, Pali in the Bilaspur District, Boramdeo and Kankali in the Kawardha State, Dewarbuja in Khairagarh State, Amarkantaka and Chandrehe in Baghelkhand, Khajuraha in Bundelkhand, Bilhari in the Jubbulpore District, Hindoria in the Damoh District, Barahta in the Narsinghpur District, Kelod in the Nagpur District, Mandhata in the Nimar District, and Chitorgarh in Rajputana. In all these places whether they be the walls of the temples, pillars or idols, the figure "700" invariably accompanies the name. Sir Alexander Cunningham and his Assistants took it to be the year of some era when this Jogi visited all those sacred places. He first tried to fit in with Chedi or Kalachuri era and later on with the Harsha era, but it would fit in with none. Judging from the formation of characters Sir Alexander Cunningham accorded his opinion that they were not older than the 12th or 13th Century.* Thus every time the name was found it offered a riddle to the archæological officers to solve with reference to other circumstances of the locality. The question remained unsolved till

* Archæological Report, Vol. XVII, page 44.

1904 A.D. when Mr. Cousens, Superintendent of Archæology, met me at Raipur and suddenly sprang the question as to the meaning of the figure. The explanation given to him was considered satisfactory, and he recorded it in his Progress Report for 1904. Magaradhvaja measured his importance by the size of his following. He was the leader of 700 disciples. This is supported by the fact that the inscription is not in the same handwriting in each case, as one should expect it to be, were it written by one solitary Jogi wandering from shrine to shrine. The name was no doubt engraved by some one of his many disciples, but not always by the same man.

Till then I had never thought of this Jogi at all, and although according to Mr. Cousens I had solved the mystery of the figure, which had puzzled Sir Alexander Cunningham and his officers, my curiosity was excited as to who this Jogi could be. Whenever I visited any ancient remains I tried to search for the name of this ubiquitous Jogi and found it where the archæologist's eyes had failed to catch it. The latter had seen it in about ten places and my curiosity brought to light as many more. In the Kawardha State and in the Damoh District, I found it inscribed on even the pedestal of the Vishnuite idols enshrined in the old temples now reduced to ruins, and in the Khairagarh State and Raipur District I found the name carved on huge lingams. It may be permissible to inscribe a name on walls and pillars, but one must be extremely holy and extraordinarily popular before he could be allowed to have his name inscribed on the object of the worship itself. Garrik rightly conceived the importance of this Jogi, when he said that¹ "this pilgrim was no common mendicant. He must have commanded considerable resources to have enabled him to visit the numerous places at vast distances

¹ Arch. Report, Vol. XIX, p. 32.

from each other at which his name remains inscribed—this too at a time when travelling was very expensive and seldom undertaken without a due number of elephants, camels and attendants." What this number might have been 6 or 7 hundred years ago, can be judged from the present-day paraphernalia of the Jagad Gurus of Sankarāchārya's *Mathas*, who move about with a tremendous following accompanied with a variety of vehicles from carts to cars, yet I do not think that they are considered sufficiently holy to have their names carved on the sacred images and lingams they worship. A Jogi is usually a Śivite and may well be highly honoured by the followers of that sect, but we find Magaradhvaja equally revered by the Vishnuites, as the inscribing of his name on Vishnuite idols indicates. The natural conclusion is that he must have been looked upon something like a Śankarāchārya. This further sharpened the craving for finding out his nativity and I am glad to say that a manuscript history of Ratanpur Kings was finally found which recorded the existence of a Matha of Magaradhvaja Jogi with 700 chelas at Ratanpur during the reign of Jajalladeva. The latter flourished about 1114 A.D., the period to which the characters of the pilgrim record belong. The Haihayas of Ratanpur were Śivites. They were a branch of Tripuri house, which created an empire for itself comprising almost the whole of India within it, at least in the times of Karna Daharia, who unfortunately has not received full justice at the hands of the writers of Indian History. Mr. Jayaswal rightly calls him an Indian Napoleon, a title which Vincent Smith has conferred on Samudra Gupta. The Tripuri kings belonged to the Kalamukh branch of the Pāsupat sect of the Śivites and were very liberal to their priests. One of them had in fact made a gift of 3 lakhs of villages to the high priest, Sadbhāva Śambhu, who did not keep the estate to himself but with its income founded what was

called Golaki Matha, of which branches spread even to the Madras Presidency, as the Malkapuram inscription indicates. Nearer home there were branches at Gorgi and Chandrehe in the Rewa State and Khajuraha in Bundelkhand. What wonder that a branch of the same institution was established at Ratanpur, a place known as Devikhol before King Ratandeva gave his name to it. The oldest shrine at this place is that of Mahamaya (female energy), the object of special worship by the Pāsupat Śivites. Magaradhvaja lived at a time when the Tripuri house had decayed and the Ratanpur house was ascendant, having become independent of the former. The grandeur of the Ratanpur Matha must have consequently much increased as compared with that of other branches or even the original Golaki Matha, which according to my view was located at Bheraghāt on the Narmada river in the Jubbulpore District. It is quite close to Tripuri (present Tewar) and was apparently included in that town when it was founded. I am aware that the grandness of the ancient remains at Gorgi, 11 miles from Rewa, and the inscriptions found there describing the Matha as a very prosperous institution set up a rival claim, further strengthened by the name of Gorgi which is merely a natural corruption of Golaki; still the vicinity of the capital Tripuri to the Chaunsat Jogini shrine a round cloister situated on a round hill, Golagiri, of which Golaki itself is a corruption, leads me to stick to the first identification.

On the strength of peculiarity of names ending in dhvaja, a question arises whether the traditional kings of Ratanpur were really mahants of the Matha. The local tradition avers that the first king was Mayuradhvaja, a descendant of the great Kartavirya who ruled at Mahishmati, the present Mandhata in the Nimar District. His successors are mentioned as follows:—Tamradhvaja, Chitradhvaja, Viśvadhvaja, Chandradhvaja, Makhapaladhvaja and a host

of others without dhvaja endings. Tamradhvaja has been identified with the Haihaya king of that name mentioned in the Mahabharata as having been defeated by Arjuna, whose sacrificial horse he had captured and tied at a tank at Ratanpur still called Ghudabandha tank. On the face of it this story is absurd as Ratanpur had not been founded then. If the names noted above were those of real personages, I am inclined to take them as predecessors of Makaradhvaja on the religious gaddi of Devikol, to which the name of Ratanpur was given when the kings began to live there as stated before. On the back of the Markanda temple in the Chanda District I found a pilgrim record of Ratnadhvaja Jogi dated in the Samvat year 1519 or 1462 A.D. Although an isolated record, I take it to be very suggestive. Apparently the Jogi received his name from the Ratanpur Math when he became its head. Probably the traditions of Magaradhvaja's visit to that renowned shrine carried him to Markanda where seeing his predecessor's name inscribed at the door, he carved his own on the back of the temple. Of course this is highly conjectural, but so far as Magaradhvaja is concerned, I think it is now well established that he was the Śivite head of the Ratanpur Matha and had a following of 700 chelas. That also explains why in shrines close to Ratanpur he enjoyed the privilege of inscribing his name on idols. In remoter places we do not find that honour extended to him.

(92)

THE HISTORY OF THE GHATIKA AT KANCHI

S. V. VENKATESWARA, M.A.
(*University Professor, Mysore*).

1. Kanchipura at the dawn of history. Culture and character.

2. Meaning of Ghatika in South-Indian inscriptions.
3. Control of the Ghatikas by the Kshatrapas.
4. War between the Kshatrapas and the Pallavas. (Velurpalayam plates), Skanda-sishya and Satyasena.
5. International reputation of the Ghatika of Kanchi. (Talagunda pillar inscription.)
6. Curricula of studies in the Ghatika. (Kasakuti plates), etc.
7. Titles of distinction in the Ghatika.
8. Work of the Ghatika taken over by Mathas, in the middle ages

SECTION—PHILOLOGY.

(93)

THE RELATION BETWEEN PĀLI AND
ARDHAMĀGADHI.

P. V. BAPAT, M.A.

1. The theory held by several European scholars that Pāli is based upon Ardhamāgadhi, that it is a variety of A.M., or that the Pāli canon represents in part a translation of Ardhamāgadhi text.

2. Comparison of Pāli and Ardhamāgadhi texts from the following points of view :—

- (i) Phonology.
- (ii) Grammar.
- (iii) Vocabulary in both the languages.
- (iv) Vocabulary in Sanskrit, Pāli, A.M., and vernacular.

From all these points of view it can be proved, that Pāli is earlier than A.M. and that the words or grammatical forms in A.M. cannot be arrived at except through Pāli.

3. The evidence given by Kātyāyana and Patañjali as to the early character of Pāli.

4. Conclusion.—Pāli was the earliest stage of corruption which ultimately developed into Ardhamāgadhi and other provincial Prakrits; hence, the view held by the European scholars is untenable.

(94)

PURE MĀGADHĪ

SUGATAKANTI

(Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta).

Pure Māgadhi is the language of the Buddha and the other sages before and after him. It is also called Pāli—The reason for this—The Buddha was born in Magadha, hence his language is called Māgadhi. This is the primal speech. But the Buddha's speech was not used by the other people of Magadha. We have therefore to distinguish between the Pure Māgadhi of the Buddha and the Piṭakas and the popular Māgadhi of the populace—The account given by Vararuci and other grammarians of the Desiyā Māgadhi and its vulgar character—The relation between these two Māgadhis—Pāli Grammar and its use—The three Piṭakas in this Pure Māgadhi—The spread of the language in the Southern countries and its regrettable disappearance from India—The study of Pāli at Calcutta.

(95)

NAMES OF RELATIVES IN MODERN
INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

BABURAM SAKSENA, M.A.

1. Primitive I. A. Stage.

NOTE.—Difficulty of getting sufficient material owing to scarcity of colloquial expressions generally.

A. Basis of Words :

- (a) Onomatopoeitic (*e.g.*, repetition of a syllable—तात).
- (b) Other words.
- (c) Compounds, *e.g.*, मानुष्यसा.

B.(a) Names found in the Indo-European stage.

- (b) Later additions.

2. Middle I. A. Stage.

A. Basis of words same, fresh formations, *e.g.*, मादुच्छ्रयो
from मादुच्छ्रिआ.

B. Influence of aboriginal languages ?

3. Modern I. A. Stage.

A. Names indicative of blood-relations and matrimonial relations in detail in

Awadhī (Eastern Hindi)

Kanaujī (Western Hindi)

Panjābī

Mārwarī (Rajasthānī)

Kumaonī (Pahārī)

Gujarātī

Derāwālī (Labuda)

Sindhī ?

Marāṭhī

Oṛiyā ?

Āsāmī

Baṅgālī

Maithilī (Bihārī)

Siṅglālī

NOTE.—Tāmil (Dravidian) for comparison.

B. Basis of words :

(1) Great dependence on onomatopoeia, *e.g.*, काका,
चाचा, बाबा, दादा, जिज्जी.

(2) formations on earlier words

(3) influence of other languages, *e.g.*, Dravidian—
identification of words for maternal and

paternal grandfathers in outlying languages.
 Persian—*e.g.*, दमाद.

- C. Differences in these languages.
 - D. Help in grouping of these languages.
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(96)

THE VARṆANA-RATNĀKARA OF KAVIŚĒKHAR-
 ĀCĀRYA JYĪTIRĪŚVARA ṬHĀKURA, THE
 OLDEST WORK IN MAITHILI.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A., D.Litt.,
 (Calcutta).

- A. The Manuscript.
 - B. The Author—his Date, his Times, his Writings.
 - C. The Work—its Subject Matter, its General Interest as a Document of Medieval Hindu Culture and Society.
 - D. The Language of the Work : Phonetics and Phonology in relation to Orthography, Morphology, Syntax, Vocabulary ; its Place with Reference to Later Maithili ; its Importance in the Study of the Philology of the Modern Indo-Aryan Languages.
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(97)

THE MAIN LINES OF LANGUAGE GROWTH

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A., Ph.D.
 (Calcutta University).

Two principles are generally accepted now-a-days in linguistics: (i) that the sentence is the unit of language, and

(ii) that the various *types* of languages known to-day do not mark stages in the growth of languages but have always remained distinct.

The earlier beings of the genus *Homo* might have been speechless, but *Homo sapiens* most certainly could speak from the very beginning.

Man is distinguished from animals by possession of mind. The higher gregarious animals possessing vocal organs do express certain elementary emotions by uttering definite sounds; but these are of the nature of warnings or mere expressions of a particular feeling, and by no means "speech, conveying thought from one mind to another." Speech as we understand it is possible only to human beings possessing power of thought. The Greeks realised this when they used the word *λογος* to mean both "speech" as well as "power of thought," and they used for animals the term *αλογα*.

Man has always had the *capacity* of expression of thought through speech, but only after a long process of evolution has this faculty been developed. Primitive man lives more on the level of the animal, living amidst sense-impressions of the moment. To express each impression he has a set of sounds and his needs and mental powers being limited his expression of speech is also limited. Each individual sense-perception (unless *absolutely identical* with another) seems to him to need a separate set of sounds. Each of these "sound-jumbles" is a sentence in itself and has nothing whatever in common with other similar sentences. The savage mind can hardly grasp the factors common between two or more sense-perceptions—in other words he cannot draw a concept from a number of percepts, but he has certainly got the capacity of doing so, because he is a rational human being possessed of *λογος*.

With increasing material needs and with growing complexity of emotions and of intellectual powers, certain

concepts relating to material and concrete objects begin to arise. The sound-jumble still continues but, theoretically at least, the concept and with it its label the "word" begin to be recognised. Ultimately these words assume a very important place in human speech. Indeed, with increasing culture and with the growing complexity of emotional and intellectual life speech would be utterly impossible without concepts (*i.e.*, without words). Concepts at first are purely concrete, abstract concepts come at a later stage. Exactly the same stages are observable when a child is learning to speak.

The next need of language is the expression of the relationships of the various words in the sentence. Here we find three types: Isolating, Agglutinating and Inflectional. The Isolating type in its most primitive form expresses very simple relationships (like possessor and thing possessed, subject and object of a verb, action complete or otherwise) by mere juxtaposition. There are no relative clauses at all. There are short co-ordinate clauses. In the more advanced stages the syntax becomes a great deal more complicated by devices corresponding to relative and subordinate clauses.

In the Agglutinating and the Inflectional types the process of growth seems to have run along parallel lines. The endings are very probably *connected* with actual words, even though they themselves are not original words broken down. In both these types the ending corresponds to a *concrete perception* of the relationship between the words. The Agglutinating type seems to have begun straightaway with a certain amount of analysis of these relationships, whereas in the inflectional languages most endings represent one particular set of relationships each, without any attempt at analysis. But even here we find occasionally something very akin to agglutinative analysis.

The next stage in both these types is achieved by putting together the various "percepts of word-relationships" into

connected groups, and then drawing therefrom the common factor, *viz.*, the abstract idea of the various word-relationships, which would thus correspond to the "concepts" of the earlier stages. Thus the relationships apparently very complex fall into well-defined groups and show some definite sort of order or arrangement. And by various combinations of these fundamental concepts of word-relationships we can express our thoughts with clearness and with even greater facility than with the complex machinery of inflections. There are already words expressive of these abstract relationships, such as prepositions, auxiliary verbs, etc., and these are freely used. This process is helped by "phonetic decay" through which endings tend to be lost.

Thus from a synthetic stage the languages of both the Agglutinating as well as the Inflectional types advance to the analytic stage.

An important cause of this change is the mixing of races speaking different languages. The more different the languages mixing together are, the more rapid is the breaking up of the synthetic structure.

(93)

SIMILARITY OF WORDS

HAIMIDULLAH KHAN YUSFZAI

The similarities that are found in words of different languages point to their original unity. There was at the beginning only one language from which all others descended. That speech could not have been a perfect one and must have been preceded by gesture language. There is no proper noun or verb in Tibetan, and we occasionally see such phenomena in English. One speech must have disintegrated to different languages and dialects. Their resemblance to one another is proportionate to the proximity

of the speech areas. A comparison of the words in different languages expressing the most primitive ideas (Father, Mother, Fish, Hand, Head, Bridle, Tooth, Water, Horse) will show this essential oneness and the writer gives some lists, concluding with one of resemblances between Arabic and English words.

SECTION—ANTHROPOLOGY.

(99)

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCHES IN
THE AGENCY

THE CHENCHUS

1. Their features.
2. Their abode.
3. Their dress and habits.
4. Their character.
5. Their food.
6. The village life of

(a) the wild Chenchus.

(b) the plain Chenchus.

7. Their birth ceremonies.
8. Their marriage customs.

(a) by consent.

(b) by force.

9. Divorce—on payment of about Rs. 10.
10. Widow-marriage chiefly with husband's younger brother.
11. Death ceremonies—polution for 11 days.

12. Their religion—Chenchu Devatā.
 13. Caste among Chenchus—7 Classes—chiefly according to profession.
 14. Administration of justice.
 15. Their language—corrupt Telugu.
 16. Conclusion.
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(100)

A MIKIR TALE AND ITS SANTHALI PARALLELS

KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

(*Monghyr*).

The Mikir Tale (the story of the orphan) two Santhali tales ("Spanling and his Uncles" and "the Mongoose Prince") and another folk-tale current amongst the Rangkas, Darmas, Chaudaugas and Byangs given in Vol. III, Pt. I of the *Linguistic Survey of India* all turn on the same motif of a lucky and clever orphan boy always turning to good account the harm done to him by his wicked and envious relations, uncles or brothers, on whom every time he plays tricks by advising them to follow a recipe which he pretends he observed to acquire his special good fortune, but following which every time they are baffled and ultimately ruined.

These tales occur in widely separated areas and I think they are derived from some ancient tale—Sanskritic or Buddhistic—but which I am unable just now to trace.

SLAVE GIRLS, DANCING GIRLS AND COURTESANS IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE

BIMALA CHARAN LAW, Ph.D., M.A., B.L.
(Calcutta University).

Slave girls—dāsīs.

Duties—household, husking paddy, pounding rice, marketing.

Control—master's full control.

Marriage—of slave's issues only on master's permission.

Freedom—possible if a slave deserved it.

Influence—Buddhistic influence in saving them from sin and crime, *e.g.*, theft, etc.

Treatment—master's treatment generally cruel and unsatisfactory.

Dancing girls—Nāṭakīs.

Accomplished in dance and music, were engaged by kings for amusement and kept in harems—sometimes even 16,000 at a time by one king. They were sometimes ordered to allure wayward princes (story of Gotama and of one in Culla-palobhana-Jātaka).

Courtesans.

These earned their livelihood by abominable ways—enticing all sorts of people by flirtation and deceit. Some repented later and attained high rank due to Buddhistic influence (stories of Ambapālī, Padumavatī, Sīlavatī, Sulasā, Sirimā Sāmā and Aḍḍhakosī.)

(102)
FEMALE CHARACTER AS DEPICTED IN
THE PĀLĪ TEXTS

BIMALA CHARAN LAW, Ph.D., M.A., B.L.
(*Calcutta University*).

They were good household wives devoted and dutiful to their husbands. They are called supremes comrades (stories of Sambula Jātaka, Kakkaṭṭhā Jātaka, Sujātā, Rāhula's mother, Kosaladēvī). Good wives did not like that their husbands should turn ascetics and often tried to seduce them back into household life.

Buddha himself says (*Saṃyutta*, I, p. 86) that a daughter may be better than a son if she is intelligent, virtuous and devoted to her husband and mother-in-law.

As there are good women so there are wicked women. The latter can be known in 25 ways (*Kuṇḍala Jātaka*); there are nine grounds on which a woman incurs blame. Wicked women not satisfied with their lot.

Buddhist literature depicts bright as well as dark side of female character.

Frailty of women's character—insensible of best love before their passion, best guard cannot keep them in check; women take the lives of their sons so that they may go unchecked; women fall in love with their step-sons; woman's carnal appetite knows no satisfaction. They try to cause defilement in sanctified souls; forty different ways in which a woman makes up with a man; five kinds of woman to be shunned.

Women not divorced on grounds of adultery, though divorce not unknown to them. Severe punishments for violation of chastity go to show that chastity was held in high esteem. Women could be punished by their husbands for adultery, even by taking their lives.

NAYAKA-NAYIKABHAVA IN SOUTH INDIAN RELIGION

A. RANGASWAMI SARASWATI

(*Madras*).

The idea that the individual soul is distinct from God and is related to Him in a variety of ways, who in his love leads it on to salvation is common to so many religions. But in the religion of Śrī Vaishṇavism as developed in the Tamil Prabandhas of the Ālvārs, a special form of love which God bears to the soul is expounded. This love is called Conjugal love metaphorically. This is almost the same as that expounded by the Philosopher Chaitanya in Northern India except for the former being Visiṣṭādvaita. Long before Chaitanya and Vallabhāchārya, Saints Śaṭhagopa (Nammalwar), Parakala (Tirumangai Alwar) and others developed the idea in their works like the Tiruvaymoli and the Pirumoli.

The famous Vedānta Desika, the author of more than a hundred works on Religion refers to this idea in his Godastuti, a poem in praise of Goda or Andal, the foster-daughter of Vishnuchitta or Periyalwar (Bhattanatha), another of the Alvars or authors of Śrī Vaishṇava Tamil Prabandhas.

He says that the Gurus of Goda, i.e., the Alvars, in trying to enjoy God, her beloved convert their devotion to him into conjugal love and console their hearts by stories of separation, etc., the author of the Draviḍopanishatsamgati is referring to this very sentiment.

This sentiment of love towards God expressed in terms of conjugal love नायकनायिकाभावः is best expressed in the works of Nammālvār "Śarī Śaṭhagopa," the most important of the Ālvārs. It is said that Nammalwar enjoyed with references to God respectively all the various sentiments which Bharata, Lakshmaṇa and Śita enjoyed towards Rama and the Gopis with Krishna, the divine Shepherd. Taking that manhood (पुरुषः) was befitting only God (पुरुषोत्तमः) before whom the whole universe is like a woman. "Sathari in

his great love for Him assumed the shape of a woman. The great love which the worldly people (fools, अविवेकभाजः) cherish towards the worldly things, the same is called Bhakti, when directed to Achyuta by the wise. The love felt towards His lovely form is Bhakti (devotion) and hence the saint Saṭhagopa) resorted to the language of lovers. The enjoyment of Him by the mind is enjoyment and its non-existence and the consequent suffering are called the pangs of separation. While describing the course of the progress of this love of God, Nammālvār describes three states. These are: (1) Tolimar Avasthā or the state of the playmate. This playmate is the metaphorical personification of the Sambandhajnāna or the knowledge of the relationship between God and man. This knowledge, it is, that tries even in serious and despondent situations to take the soul to the beloved lover, (2) Talaimagal Avasthā or the state of a mother. Like a respectful mother, this feeling steadies and regulates the intensity of the love which one feels for God and sees that Man does not trespass the bounds of convention in his love for the God. Like the respectful mother who begot the child, brought her up with fondness and got her suitably married, does not allow her daughter after her attaining age to run to him in spite of her intense love, but quietly advises her to perform her duties and patiently wait till He comes and takes her to him, (3) The third Avasthā, the Magal Avasthā is the state of the young maiden who does not care for the obstacles and breaking all of them asunder seeks to meet the Lord.

According to the custom of ancient Tamil rhetoricians a girl, till her seventh year is called Pēdai. This state of the lover in this body of literature is called Abhilāsha or yearning which is the result of mere sight. A girl between the ages of 7 and 13 is called Pitumbai. This state corresponds to the Smaraṇa or memory of his qualities. The third stage is that between the years 13 and 18 and corresponds

to Anusmarāṇa, which compels one to think of Him always. The fourth stage is that of a Maṇḍai or a woman between the ages of 18 and 24 and the corresponding sentiment is the Icchā which resolves to enjoy him at any cost. The fifth stage is that of an Arivai or a woman between the ages of 24 and 30 and the corresponding sentiment is Ruchi which makes it impossible for one to enjoy anything else. The sixth stage, that of the Terivai, a woman between the ages of 30 and 40, corresponding to which Love takes the form of happiness when the object is attained and unhappiness when it is not and is called Parabhakti. The seventh and last stage, is that of Perilampeṇ or the woman above the age of 40, who would think that her existence is fruitless without enjoying him, and corresponds to Paramabhakti.

The birds that are addressed and requested to become messengers to carry the story of love to God, the lover, are the personification of Āchāryas or the preceptors of the Yearning soul. In some places these correspond to co-students and in some others they are disciples. The two wings by the help of which those messengers are able to carry the message are Jnāna (knowledge) and 2 Anuṣṭhāna (conduct).

Similarly the people that are referred to in these poems as the Anukūlas are those favouring the course of love and the Śatrus or those hostile to the fructification of the love are respectively the people who have chosen Prapatti or self-surrender as their path and those that have chosen the Jnānayoga, without reference to him and the Sādhanaṅtaras. These are referred to as Ayarchēriyar or people belonging to other and strange habitats.

Mālai or the Sandhyākāla, described in these poems corresponds to Rājasajnāna, which, just as in the twilight things are not perceived in their true light, is the cause of Anyathā-pratipatti. Similarly Kangul or the night in which things are either not perceived at all and if perceived raise strange apprehensions, is the metaphorical representative of Tāmasajnāna.

Kālai or the Brāhmamuhūrta, according to this corresponds to Sāttvikajnāna, which is itself the cause of the right perception of objects. Pagal or daylight similarly represents in this arrangement the Śuddhasattvajnāna, by which one is able to see things in their true light without Samaaya (doubt) and Viparyaya (misapprehension). The cloth described in this literature as worn by the heroine symbolises the Ahankāra which covers the Ātmā and conceals its true nature which is Śēshatva.

Similarly the ornaments that are represented in these poems as being worn by the Nāyikā represent Mamakāra. The Pandu or ball and the Kalal, the five beads with which the Nāyikā delights herself are the Śarira, the human body and the five Indriyas. The long night (Iravuneḍumai) is the unbearable Ālasya and the moonrise in its midst symbolises the Vivēka or discernment which is unbearable during the night of separation.

This sort of metaphorical conjugal love is found throughout these poems. The Sandēśas or messages that are sent by the yearning Bhakta lover to be delivered through birds, bees, clouds, etc., are noble pieces which in places even surpass in beauty the classic Mēghasandēśa (cloud messenger) of Kālidāsa.

In the classical literature of the Ancient Tamils the convention was that only males were allowed to have recourse to this form of ordeal and women were on no account allowed to have recourse to do it. In the sacred Tamil scriptures of the Ālvārs, the Maḍal is at times described as having had recourse to by the Ālvār-Nāyikā in describing his love to the God. Classical instances of this are found in the works of Parakāla or Tirumangai Ālvār, the Periya Tirumaḍal and the Śīriya Tirumaḍat. In the Tiruvāymoli of Śrī Śāthagopa also, though there is no example of a whole Maḍal, there is a section where the Nāyika tries to break through all the worldly bondages which were obstacles in the fulfilment of the love and where she wants to have recourse

to a Maḍal. But she is prevented from doing it on account of night coming in the meanwhile in her way. Night, as has been previously described, represents Ajnāna.

This Nāyaka-Nāyikābhāva of the Tamil scriptures had very great influence in shaping the philosophy of Rāmānuja. The philosophies of other Śrī Vaishṇava cults like those of Śrī Vallabhāchārya and Chaitanya had not for their background anything corresponding to the Tamil scriptures which existed in the case of Rāmānuja. The philosophy of these Nāyaka-Nāyikābhāvas are different. The Nāyaka-Nāyikābhāva of the Tamil Vaishṇavas should have been very familiar, to Śrī Śankarāchārya who appears to allude to it once in his commentary of the Bhagavadgita. While commenting on verse 44 of Canto XI commenting on प्रियः प्रियाय here Śankara thinks that the form प्रियाय is Ārsha and should be प्रियायः which is not admissible grammatically, and wantonly introduces the idea of Nāyaka and Nāyikā although there was no textual justification for the procedure. He should have been very familiar with this idea in the religion of South India at his period as it is developed in the works of the Saints Śaṭhagopa (Nammālvār) and Parakāla (Tirumangai Ālvār).

(104)

IS RAMLILA A PANTOMIME ?

RAM KUMAR CHAUBE, M.A.

(Benares).

Dr. A. B. Keith in his book "The Sanskrit Drama," says that *Ramlila is pantomime*. The present paper shows that the statement is incorrect. Also while that the elements of the staged drama of the present times have been traced to Krishna Ras Lila and Ram Lila, they can be traced to the Kali worship and the Bhands or Nakkals (Buffoons, or mimics).

(104a)
SUBRAHMANYA, THE SOUTH INDIAN
SERPENT-GOD

A. RANGASWAMI SARASWATI
(*Madras*).

Subrahmanya signifies Indra in the Vedas.

It signifies Skanda, the son of Śiva in the Tamil Country.

In the Telugu and Kannaḍa it means a serpent-god.

This serpent-god is in some places thought to be the same as Skanda, but in the larger portion of the country this relation is not known.

Importance of the worship of Skanda or Kumāra in the Tamil Country.

But there it has no reference to the God Subrahmanya.

Some texts in Sanskrit explaining the name Subrahmanya.

Skanda assuming the form of Vāsuki.

Snake-worship and Kumāra-worship related.

Skanda's conquest of Śūra Padma.

Hiḍimba, the divine Bhakta of Kumara.

Tirupati or Vēṅgaḍam, the most important temple of Viṣṇu in South India.

Popular beliefs about the identity of the God worshipped there and Ramanuja's connection with it.

Evidence of ancient Tamil literature.

Names like Venkaṭasubrahmanya and Venkaṭasēsha.

Could Śēsha have replaced Skanda in the place?

Evidence of one faith, superimposed upon another.

Aiyanār or Śāsta, a Tamil village deity.

The story of his birth through Śiva and Viṣṇu.

His mention in the Sangham literature.

Śātavāhana, one of his names.

Relation to the historical Śātavāhanas.

Popularity of his worship and traditions about him.

SECTION—HINDI LITERATURE.

(105)

THE PARENTAGE OF TULSI DAS

RAM KUMAR CHAUBE, M.A.

(Benares).

The various researches of the Europeans and Indians up to date are unanimous that "Hulsi" as the name of the mother of Tulsi Das is based on external evidence only, *i.e.*, on pure tradition and a line of verse only attributed to Abdur Rahim Khan Khanikhanan which is capable of double interpretation and that there is no internal evidence from the works of the poet to establish the fact. In this paper internal evidence from the works of the poet himself is adduced to establish the fact.

(106)

WAS THE HINDI POET BEHARI LAL A
RIDDLE-WRITER ?

RAM KUMAR CHAUBE, M.A.

(Benares).

Sir George Grierson in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, page 423, quotes a riddle and attributes it to *Behari Lal*. The same has been quoted by Mr. Keay in the *Hindi Literature* (Heritage of India Series). The paper shows that this is incorrect. Behari Lal never wrote riddles in that form.

(107)

WAJHAN, THE GREATEST POET OF SUFIISM
IN HINDI LITERATURE

RAM KUMAR CHAUBE, M.A.

(Benares).

Wajhan was a Sufi poet who wrote in Brijhasha. Sir George Grierson in his *Modern Vernacular Literature of*

Hindustan mentions his name only with the remarks "A quietistic Vedantic writer of Dohas" while Mishra Bandhus in their *Mishra Bandhu Vinod* dismiss him with the remarks "an ordinary poet." Both place him in the "Unknown period" without any mention of his works. No other mention so far as known to the present writer has been made of the poet in any other Anthology. The paper attempts to show his important place in the mystic literature of Hindi illustrated by some extracts from the coming edition of the poet's work by the present writer.

(108)

KABIR'S ALLEGED AUTHORSHIP OF A GHAZAL

RAM KUMAR CHAUBE, M.A.

(Benares).

Mishra Bandhus in the *Hindi Navaratna* and following them Pt. Ram Naresh Tripathi in his *Kavita Kaumudi*, Part IV, attribute a Ghazal to Kabir. The paper shows that it is incorrect.

(109)

PERSIAN LOAN WORDS IN TULSIDASA'S RĀMĀYAN

RAM KUMAR CHAUBE, M.A.

(Benares).

The present paper shows that most of the words noted by Mr. Baburam have already been noted by Messrs. Kellog, Bate, N. N. Sanyal and others whom he has not acknowledged; also that the philology of many words pointed out by him is entirely wrong and misleading.

SECTION—ARABIC AND PERSIAN.

(110)

THE LETTER ق IN ARABIC

A. SIDDIQUI,

(*Professor, University of Dacca*).

1. The sound represented by ق (= *q*) and its dialectical variants (1) in Arabic and other Semitic languages, (2) in Turkish.
 2. It is not an Arian or Iranian sound.
It is, however, found in Persian loan-words in Arabic as well as in certain other Semitic languages.
 3. The original Persian forms of the loan-words in question had a *k* which was changed into a *q* in the Semitic language or languages.
 4. An explanation of this change.
 5. Certain words which have the appearance of a genuine Arabic word, but which, in reality, are of Persian origin.
 6. The Arabic word *zindiq* is not, as generally believed by modern scholars, of Syriac but of Persian origin.
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(111)

ARABIC LOAN WORDS IN PERSIAN
LITERATURE

RAM KUMAR CHAUBE, M.A.

(*Benares*).

The proportion of Arabic words in *Firdausi's "Shah-nama"* compared with that of *Sádi* and other Persian poets.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF POETRY

SYED SIBTUL HASAN

A

1. Nature of poetry.
2. Characteristics of a verse.
3. The difference between the two.

B

1. The co-existence of poetry with humanity.
2. Development of poetic conceptions.
3. Every human being is a poet.

ILLUSTRATIVE POETRY IN PERSIAN

M. G. ZUBAID AHMAD, M.A.

(Arabic-Persian Dept., Allahabad University).

1. Misalia Shaeri (Illustrative Poetry), although occupying an important place in Persian lyric poetry, has not yet been properly discussed or criticised by any Eastern or Western critic.

2. This type of poetry owes its origin to a peculiar development of simile. It is, in a way, related to the figure of speech called "Husn-i-Tálil" or Poetical ætiology which is also based on simile.

3. This type of poetry altogether differs from the figure called "Irsalul-Masal" or Proverbial Commission with which Professor Browne and other Western scholars seem to have confused it.

4. Various stages of its rise and development :—

- (a) No period of Persian poetry is devoid of scattered examples of this sort of poetical composition.

- (b) Naziri was probably the first poet to have paid greater attention to it than his predecessors.
- (c) Kalim, Ghani and Sáib have made the best use of it in their poetry and so they may be called the champions of this school of poetry.
- (d) This school soon declined, as the later Persian poets paid very little attention to it.
- (e) Misalia Shaeri, like the other types of Persian poetry was, to some extent, imitated by Urdu poets among whom Zauq seems to have used it largely.

5. *Merits and demerits.*—So long as it is true to nature, it may be said to be genuine poetry, otherwise it may be called purely imaginary in its character.

(114)

EARLY PERSIAN POETRY PRODUCED IN INDIA

SYED AZHAR ALI

(Delhi).

- I. *Subject of the Thesis*—Pre-Moghul Poetry produced by domiciled or purely Indian poets—Paucity of biographical material.
- II. *Heritage of the Ghaznavides*—Military expeditions and wars of the Ghaznavides in India—Annexation of the Punjab—Ghaznavide princes and governors at Lahore—Confidence reposed by them in the Hindus—Extinction of the Ghaznavide power at Ghazni by the Ghoris—Establishment of the Muhammadan power in India.

Persian poets who were natives of India :

- 1. Abul Faraj Rauni—His life—An estimate of his genius—Specimen of his verse.

2. Masud Sádi-Salman, a disciple of Abul Faraj—His life and captivity—His poetry—Specimen of his verse.
 3. Hamid-ud-Din Masood, son of Sádi-Shali Kob.
- III. *The Slaves and the Khiljis*—Their dominion—Love of literature and men of letters.
1. Amir Khusro—His parentage—Life—Association with Saint Nizam-ud-Din and several kings—Versatility of his genius—His claim to greatness—Specimens of his verse.
 2. Mir Hasan of Delhi—Early life—Subsequent reform and association with Saint Nizam-ud-Din and Amir Khusro and Sultan-i-Shahid—His verse.
 3. Shihab-ud-Din of Badayun.
 4. Amid-ud-Din-i-Sanami.
 5. Taj-ud-Din-i-Reza—His verse.
- Some eminent Sufis who contributed to the growth and cultivation of Persian poetry :
1. Khwaja Moin-ud-Din Chishti Ajmeri—His Diwan.
 2. Khwaja Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki—His Diwan.
 3. Bu Ali Shah Qalandar—His *Masnavi*.
- IV. *The Tuglaqs*—Disturbed condition of the country—Restoration of peace—Literary activities—Amir Khusro's death—Badr-i-Chachi—Other minor poets : Maulana Mazhar-Qazi Abid—Zahir.
- V. *The Syeds and the Lodhis*—The former were titular sovereigns—The latter gained strength and widened their dominions—Their love and patronage of letters : Bahlol Lodhi and Sikandar Lodhi—Shaikh Jamali of Delhi—Advent of the Moghuls.

(115)

A SANSKRIT AND PERSIAN VERSE OF RAHIM

RAM KUMAR CHAUBE, M.A.

(Benares).

An unpublished Shloka of Sanskrit and Persian mixed together attributed to Abdur Rahim Khan Khanikhanan from the writer's father's note book, with another reading from a resident of Benares.

SECTION—URDU.

(116)

THE EPIC POETRY IN URDU

S. M. ZAMIN ALI, M.A.

(Allahabad University).

1. Joy and grief are the twin experiences of the human mind.

2. Poetry is the fit medium of expression for these experiences. It is a touchstone of their sincerity. It lends dignity to the expression.

3. Epic poetry affords the amplest scale for a heroic treatment of emotions, for it combines the intensity of the Drama and the sweep of narrative.

4. Marsia in Urdu is epic in character and its motif is the tragedy of Karbala.

5. A brief sketch of the tragic events that took place at Karbala.

6. Marsia is co-extensive with Islamic civilization.

7. A critical survey of Marsia in Arabic, Persian and other languages.

8. The beginning of Marsia in Urdu and its early development.

9. Mir Zamir, the founder of Modern Marsia—Mir Khaliq, Fasih, Dilgir, and other Marsia-writers of the age.

10. A critical examination of the works of the early writers of the Modern Marsia.

11. Innovations made by Mir Zamir and others.

12. The apogee of the Marsia—Mir Anis and Mirza Dabir.

13. The lines adopted by Mir Anis and Mirza Dabir and the number of Marsias composed by them.

14. Marsias of Mir Anis and Mirza Dabir can be so arranged as to present continuous stories of the tragic events in epics having different metres.

15. A critical examination of their Marsias :

- (a) Description of natural phenomena.
- (b) Portraying of emotions.
- (c) Narration of battles.
- (d) Ethical and philosophical ideas.
- (e) Other phases of their poetry.
- (f) Diction and style.
- (g) Comparison with English and Persian poets.
- (h) Opinions of contemporary poets.
- (i) Objections and their answers.

16. The difference in style gave rise to two schools of Marsia-writers—The School of Anis and the School of Dabir.

17. Marsia-writers after Anis and Dabir—A general survey of their works.

18. A critical survey of the contributions made by :

- (a) Nafees, Uruj, Arif and Rashid—the chief representatives of the School of Anis.
- (b) Auj and Tahir representing the School of Mirza Dabir.

19. The latter accretions of the Marsia—The Saqi Nama.

20. The value of Marsia—Its physical, moral, literary and historical significance.

21. New tendencies. Line adopted by Shad of Patna.
22. Marsia-writers have done considerable service to Urdu literature.
23. Position of Marsias in the literature of the world.

(117)

PSYCHOLOGY OF MOURNING

SYED SIBTUL HASAN

1. According to psychological principles it is impossible to lament the martyrdom of Husain.
2. The principles of psychology are as unbreakable as the laws of nature.
3. Breakage in any law of nature is a miracle.
4. Lamenting the martyrdom of Husain is a clear miracle.

مضمون اردو ”حسین پر رونا کیونکر ممکن ہے“
 الف - ہم کو کچھ اصول نفسیات کے ایسے ملتے ہیں جن
 کی بنا پر ہم واقعہ کربلا پر گریہ نہیں کر سکتے -
 (۱) علم النفس کے اصول قوانین فطرت ہیں -
 (۲) قوانین فطرت میں کسی ایک کا بھی فرق ہو جائے تو
 وہ ”معجزہ“ ہے -
 لہذا شہداء کربلا پر رونا ایک معجزہ باہرہ ہے

خلاصہ یہہ کہ

عزائے حسین سے زیادہ کوئی اور حیرت ناک حقیقت علم النفس
 اور انسان کی تاریخ میں نہیں ملتی -

THE TRAGEDY OF KARBALA AND ITS EFFECTS

S. M. ZAMIN ALI, M.A.

(University, Allahabad).

1. A biographical sketch of Imam Husain.
2. Prophecies relating to his martyrdom.
3. Opinions of Muslim theologians on his martyrdom.
4. Causes of his martyrdom from historical and worldly point of view.
5. Events that took place at Karbala.
6. Critical estimate of Imam Husain's policy.
7. The immediate and remote effects of his martyrdom.
8. Condolence meeting (مجالس عزاء). Its moral, social and intellectual significance.

واقعات کربلا اور اُس کا اثر

- ۱ - امام حسین کے حالات
- ۲ - امام حسین کی شہادت کے متعلق پیشین گوئیاں
- ۳ - امام حسین کی شہادت پر علمائے اسلام کی رائیں
- ۴ - امام حسین کی شہادت کے تاریخی اسباب
- ۵ - واقعات شہادت
- ۶ - امام حسین کی پالیسی پر تبصرہ
- ۷ - امام حسین کی شہادت کا اثر
- ۸ - مجالس عزاء کے اخلاقی - معاشرتی اور عملی فوائد

سید ضامن علی

اُردو ڈیپارٹمنٹ - الہ آباد یونیورسٹی

NATIVITY OF MĪR GHULĀM ĀLI, ĀZĀD

Maulvi Sayyid MAḠBŪL AHMAD, Sāhib
(Allahabad).

That the great author and biographer of poets Mīr Ghulām Ālī, Āzād—the so-called Bilgrāmī (1704—1786)—was not a real Bilgrāmī. One of his forefathers came from Samdan (vulgarly spoken Samdhin)—a well-known village in the Farrukhābād District—once a seat of learning—and settled at Bilgrām Town (in the Hardoi District, Oudh).

(This will be proved by quotations from original and authentic books and other reliable and genuine sources.)

THE URDU PRESS

HAMIDULLAH AFSAR, B.A.

1. The very early forms of what we now recognize as corresponding to a newspaper were the "Roman Acta Diurna" and the "Chinese Peking Gazette." The former lasting to the fall of the Western Empire and the latter appeared regularly ever since the days of the Tang dynasty (618—905 A. D.).

2. The modern newspaper owed its rise to a custom which prevailed in Venice in the 16th century of reading allowed in a public place a manuscript of the news of general interest.

3. In India from the very early days as far back as the time of the great Hindu Jurist Manu the manuscript newspaper formed an important public institution.

4. The manuscript newspapers in the form of the Waqaye and Akhbars during the Mohammedan rule.

5. The "Bengal Gazette" was the first printed newspaper in India. This was in English and was issued on Saturday 29, 1780. Another paper was started the same year entitled the "Samachar Darpan." Both of these papers were in Bengalee but an edition of the latter was issued in Persian characters also.

6. The first Urdu newspaper was the "Urdu Akhbar" issued in 1836 from Delhi.

7. A historical survey of the Urdu Newspaper Press.

(121)

DIFFERENT SPELLINGS OF SOME URDU WORDS

HAMIDULLAH AFSAR, B.A.

A number of words are generally spelt in two or more ways in Urdu, such as,

ھرج	حرج	طیار	تیار
پروا	پرواہ	مصالحہ	مسالہ
دھانپنا	دھکنا	سیلابچی	سلفچی
نیب نیمب	نیم	ماپنا	ناپنا
		نینببو	لیمو

and so on. I shall propose one definite, proper and correct way to spell these words which may be adopted once for all.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE OLD TRADITIONAL ORIENTAL LEARNING

JWALA PRASAD, M.A.

(Robertson College, Jubbulpore).

This short paper means to bring out and emphasise the fact that the traditional oriental learning is deteriorating both in quality and extensiveness for want of sufficient and suitable stimulus, and embodies two resolutions which may be moved at the conference to bring about an improvement in the methods of study and obtain a better status for Pandits and Maulvis of the old type who might have duly qualified themselves in Oriental Learning.

1. The first and by far the most important point in this connection is the absence of a sufficient stimulus to the pursuit of the old traditional learning, the natural consequence of which is that it is being given up rapidly by those who are really intelligent and capable of showing proficiency in this line. It is a matter of common experience now that the sons of eminent Pandits are leaving off Pathashalas for modern schools and colleges. This means evidently a death-blow to the whole study of that type.

2. The second point is the stagnation of the learning because of an almost complete absence of critical study and of a contact with new and progressive ideas in literature and philosophy.

As a step towards the removal of these defects I would urge the passing of the following resolutions by the conference :—

1. In view of the fact that there is at present no sufficient stimulus to the pursuit of the old traditional learning, this conference resolves that the heads of the educational departments in all the British provinces and the Indian States be approached with the request that the emoluments

of Pandits and Maulvis, who are qualified in the old traditional learning, be so raised, according to the standard of their attainments, as to bring them on the same level with those of the graduates and under-graduates of modern Indian Universities.

2. In view of the fact that at present there is an almost complete absence of a critical and comparative study in the methods of instruction pertaining to the old traditional learning and there is no opportunity for the students of the same to come into contact with new progressive ideas in literature and philosophy, it is resolved that the authorities of the various universities in India be approached with the request that all of them should create a Faculty of Oriental Learning on the same level with the other faculties and so control the courses and examinations of the said faculty as to encourage a critical and comparative study of the subjects comprised within the same. Besides, in order to provide an additional stimulus to the study, it is further resolved that the universities be requested to provide such facilities for the graduates in Oriental Learning to qualify themselves for the other degrees of the University as are already provided for in the Punjab University, that is to say, a graduate in Oriental Learning be allowed to qualify himself for the degree of Bachelor of Arts by passing an examination in English as prescribed for the Matriculation, the Intermediate and the B.A. Examinations.

(123)

THE ISLAMIC METHOD OF DECIDING THE LAW SUITS (IN URDU)

M. A. SALAM NADWI

The modern-educated people, when they see the present arrangement of law courts, consider that the old Islamic

system of distributing justice is unsuitable to the present-day needs and requirements. The paper proves that the Islamic system of administering justice is quite suitable for all human needs even at the present moment of civilisation.

The various aspects of the subject have been dealt, with full details under the following headings :

1. The separation of the civil and the criminal cases.
2. The method of enquiry into various law suits.
3. Evidence.
4. The number of witnesses.
5. The method of taking down the evidence of witnesses.
6. Who are eligible for giving evidence?
7. The powers of the magistrates and judges.
8. Various kinds of plaints and the conditions of admitting a suit.
9. The appointment of judges.
10. The appointment of an arbitrator.
11. The judges' courts.
12. The moral element in Islamic decisions.

(124)

HOW TO REGENERATE THE HINDUS

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(Calcutta).

It is by no means an easy task. The difficulties in our way, however grave and monumental they may appear to be, have to be got over—as they can be got over—by means of education, by self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of our uplift.

Public discussions cannot but be helpful in focussing public attention to the line of progress necessary.

The difficulties standing in the way of the Hindu community are both internal and external and these should be stated seriatim at the outset:

(1) The decay of Belief and Faith of the educated Hindus in Hinduism itself save and except that there is soul-less adhesion to certain Acharas or formal observances and rituals as prescribed by Brahman Pandits or found in the Texts.

(2) The decline generally in Hindu house-holds (due to severe, grinding economic causes) in seriously studying their own scriptures or any branch of their world-renowned Six Schools of Philosophy. There are exceptions no doubt which do not count.

(3) Our poverty which throws our young men into service of superior or inferior grades either under the Government or private employers or drives them to the professions of law, medicine, engineering, etc.

(4) Break-up of the Hindu joint family, specially in Bengal. This prevents the formation of a class of young men with fair education and high ideals having sufficient leisure or means to devote themselves to the Religio-philosophical research work of the country as above indicated.

(5) In Hindu India the ancient and time-honoured aristocracy of culture and learning being ousted by moneyed aristocracy as in the West, such moneys having been amassed in the professions or trade or usury.

It is therefore submitted in utmost humility and diffidence before the august conference that the time has now come to call for the assemblage of a thoroughly representative All-India Hindu Synod or Assembly for discussing the Reforms necessary in our Religious observances and studies and Social institutions which are suffering immensely through

the want of real Hindu ideal and push for centuries past. It has become a crying need for the community.

If in such an assembly we can without legislative aid but by merely passing resolutions bring about the desired reforms, it will be the real test that we are becoming fit for self-government.

Papers and Summaries received too late for the Press.

SECTION—LITERARY.

- (1) POLO UNDER THE CHALUKYAS
(SHRIGOUDEKAR)
- (2) KUNTAKA'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS
RASA AND DHWANI
(K. A. SAUKARAN)
- (3) AUTHORSHIP OF UNADISUTRAS
(K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM)
- (4) INDRA—THE RIGVEDIC ĀTMAN
(Miss ANANTA LAKSHMI)
- (5) FRAGMENTS OF BHATTANĀYAKA
(T. R. CHINTAMANI)
- (6) DATE OF SHRIKANTHA
(T. R. CHINTAMANI)
- (7) UPANISHADIC PROSODY
(P. G. GOPALKRISHNA AIYER)
- (8) NOTES ON THE MOKSHADHARMA OF
THE MAHĀBHĀRATA
(N. B. UTGIKAR)
- (9) IRANIAN SKY MYTHS
(B. P. ANKLESARIA)
- (10) INHERITANCE AMONG THE PRIMITIVE
PEOPLE OF TRAVANCORE
(L. A. KRISHNA IYER)

- (11) DENTISTRY IN ANCIENT INDIA
(J. J. MODI)

- (12) SYMBOLISM OF VISHWAMITTRA
(S. V. VISHWANATHA)

- (13) SOME STRAY THOUGHTS ON
JURISPRUDENCE IN INDIA
(C. K. SUBRAMANIYA SASTRY)

SECTION—PHILOSOPHY.

- (1) PRASHASTA-PĀDA-DIGNĀGA—RELATION
IN THE EVOLUTION OF CONCEPTION
OF VYAPTI IN INDIAN LOGIC
(A. S. KRISHNA RAO)

- (2) NĀGESHA AND SHABDABRAHMA
(T. V. RAMCHANDRA)

- (3) BRAHMADATTA—AN OLD VEDANTIN
(M. HRIYANNA)

- (4) BHAKTIYOGA
(P. M. MODI)

- (5) SHRIKAR BHASYA
(C. HAYAVADAN RAO)

- (6) RELATION BETWEEN KNOWLEDGE
AND ITS OBJECT
(H. N. RAGHAVENDRACHANDRA)

- (7) SANGAMA AGE AND SIX SYSTEMS OF
PHILOSOPHY
(ARAVAMUTHAN)

(8) A FEW PROBLEMS OF IDENTITY IN
THE ANCIENT CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIA

(S. KUPUSWAMI SASTRY)

(9) MUKTIVĀDA IN NAVYA NYAYA

(SHIVAPRASAD SHASTRI)

(10) PRAKRITI AS ENERGY

(BALKRISHNA)

(11) VINDHYAVASIN

(B. BHATTACHARYA)

(12) NIRVANA IN BUDDHISM

(SHYAMACHARAN CHAKRAVARTY)

SECTION—HISTORY.

(1) CULT OF SHIVA IN CHAMPĀ OR
ANCIENT ANNAM

(R. C. MAJUMDAR)
